Nation. The

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The Week.

THE question of the rights of colored volunteers in the matter of bounties was submitted for decision by the Treasury to the Attorney-General, who has affirmed the absence of all discriminating or prohibitory legislation except during the nineteen days that intervened between the acts of June 15 and July 4, 1864. Consequently directions have been given to pay to colored soldiers "wherever and, except from the 15th of June to the 4th of July, 1864, whenever enlisted during the rebellion, the bounty provided for volunteers by laws existing at the time of such enlistment." The case of those colored soldiers who were not free on the 19th of April, 1861, and yet volunteered between that date and the passage of the act of July 17, 1862, is covered by the opinion of the Attorney-General, that "enlistment in the Union army makes the slave eo instanti a freeman for ever, entitling him to be placed on a footing with white volunteers."

PREACHER and justice were guilty of sharp practice the other day, in Missouri, when the former, in order to brave the constitutional requirement of a loyal oath, omitted the text from his sermon, and was acquitted by the latter of any breach of the law. We shall next be instructed that there can be no invasion of copyright where the book is republished without a title, or even-who knows ?-without a table of contents. Not having the judge's decision before us, we cannot vouch they were preaching sermons when they were doing no such thing! Neither they nor their hearers could trace the connection between the passage from Scripture and the teaching that followed, and yet unquestionably they believed themselves respectively delivering or listening to sermons. Or, if appearance is alone consulted, and the text determines the character of the discourse, as the flag the character of the cargo which it covers, how much political preaching may and will arrogate the respectable title of sermonizing, to the infinite scandal, we doubt not, of the Missouri judge himself, who has opened the door for it! Henceforth the simple announcement of a sacred text-and for what subject, even if relevancy were insisted on, would one be wanting ?-will shield the pulpit orator from every reproach, and silence for ever the outcry which once was so familiar and efficacious.

and be circulated at Government expense in that distant territory. Though composed while its author was still in confinement, it cannot be said to be the product of duress, but bears every internal mark of spontaneity and sincerity. Mr. Reagan premises that the advice he offers, like the offering of it, is bitterly humiliating to Southern pride and prejudices, yet he conceives that any other would be cruel to his late associates in rebellion. He tells them frankly that their status is that of a conquered people, whose every right of self-government is in abeyance and dependent on the will of the power which has subdued them. The terms, therefore, which are extended to them must be accepted, with gratitude because they are no harsher than these: 1st, recognition of the supreme authority of the Government of the United States within its proper sphere, and its right to protect itself against disintegration by secession; 2d, recognition of the abolition of slavery, and the right of the freedmen to the privileges and protection of the law of the land. But he perceives that even these concessions will not be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the North. Provision must be made for conferring the elective franchise upon the former To this step he anticipates the most stubborn resistance. Nevertheless he lays down the approaches to it. First is the removal of all distinctions of color from the courts and the statutes under which they administer justice. Next is the establishment of an intellectual and moral, and, if thought necessary, a property test for the admission of all persons to the elective franchise, in order to secure its intelligent exercise. The sum of the second proposition is better than Mr. Reagan's exegesis, which, to be sure, he makes upon his own responsibility, without being strenuous about its adoption. For he would not disfranchise any person now qualified to vote, but would require of all subsequent electors that they should be males, twenty-one years of age, United States citizens, residents of the State for twelve months, and of the district, county, or precinct for six, able to read the English language understandingly, and who should have paid the taxes of the preceding year, and not be disqualified by crime. It is evident that while the colored population are satisfying these conditions, they must submit to be ruled by their former oppressors-a prospect which will be more pleasing to Mr. Reagan's white readers than any that he unveils to them. If we cannot share in this satisfaction, let us at least acknowledge the soundness of the reasons with which the repentant Texan bolsters up his measures. He shows that they alone are competent to remove the antagonism between the white race and the black, and alone-a point which is too little dwelt on in our present discussionsfor his distinguishing between a nominal and a genuine text. But if can "disarm and put an end to inter-State, sectional, political agitathe real article is demanded, how many clergymen last Sunday thought tion." Mr. Reagan betrays no prejudices against the negro, accepts him implicitly as a part of the American people, and expects, from the general docility of his disposition, that he will be in the main an industrious and useful citizen. The holding of these views is not perhaps an offset for participation in treason and revolt, but is a better excuse for open prison-doors than any oath yet taken by Southern lips.

THE Fenian "Congress" has been in session during the past week in Philadelphia. We could wish for the credit of the Irish character, and altogether without reference to its political aims, that it had a more practical air. A large committee of private persons, most of them poor and obscure, is positively undertaking to conquer England, destroy her army and navy, and ruin her credit; for that is what the deliverance of Ireland by the Fenians means. The financial world will hear with some impatience that there has been some delay in the issue of "the MR. J. H. REAGAN, ex-Postmaster-General of the Confederacy, bonds of the Irish Republic," owing to "circumstances over which recently liberated with Mr. Stephens from Fort Warren, has written nobody has any control." One step towards Irish independence has a letter to his fellow-citizens in Texas, which ought to go post-free however, been made. A deputation of the congress is said to have

secured the unconditional release of John Mitchell. A few editorial articles from this gentleman will doubtless give the British constitution and the framework of British society a preliminary shaking that will make the final smash easy work. The way he "chawed up" the Yankees in the Richmond Examiner will, we hope, be a warning to the European powers,

It is possible that among the blessings which the Emperor Napoleon's intervention in Mexican affairs will have brought on America will be the cholera. The steam frigate Amazone sailed from Toulon on the 22d of September, having on board General Osmont, his family and staff. There had been two cases of cholera on board the frigate previous to the 22d, and on that day, and at the very moment of her departure, a third case occurred, the sufferer being a civilian, who was dining at the officers' table. He was landed; but when we consider how rife the disease was at Toulon in the last days of September-there were 61 deaths by cholera at that place on the day that the Amazone sailedit would not be surprising if the frigate were to take the Eastern plague to the West. She is bound for Vera Cruz, one of yellow fever's strongholds, and may take out what may be considered something very proper to exchange against that prompt agent of death. That three persons should have been stricken down by the pestilence on board the Amazone, and yet that craft allowed to sail, is not very creditable to the French authorities. Nor is their conduct to be praised in despatching ships from Toulon, where cholera has raged with severity; and yet not only was the Amazone sent off, but the transport Jura also, with five hundred soldiers of the Foreign Legion, the worst kind of desperate characters, and just the sort of human material that this form of the plague is most apt to fasten upon as its properest food. They may be half dead before the Jura shall have reached Vera Cruz, and so feed the fishes of the Atlantic instead of the vultures and buzzards of Mexico. The condition of Mexico is such that the coming in of the cholera there would ensure its rapid spread over the country; and thence it might "progress" into our Southwestern States, where it would find a people predisposed to its attacks, the Southrons being in that irritable frame of mind which follows from unsuccessful warfare-and their failure is of a peculiarly mortifying character. Then there is much physical suffering in the South, and that is a great ally of cholera. Pestilence often follows war; and it is often carried over the world by soldiers, as it may be in this instance by Napoleon's legionaries, whom he employs to keep "the elect of the Mexicans" on his occidental throne against the wishes of his subjects.

GERMAN free labor in Texas has again, the South being witness, raised a cotton crop superior to any grown by slaves. The farmers who have achieved this success were in constant jeopardy under the old regime, for the very reason that they furnished an irrefragable argument against the system by which they were surrounded, one of whose fundamental falsehoods was that the climate was fatal to white labor in the fields. The undeniable aversion of the freedmen, now that compulsion is removed, to the cultivation of cotton, renders it probable that we shall eventually see the production of this staple almost exclusively in the hands of the whites.

Mr. Townsend Harris, of this city, corrects the statement which we made in our last issue, that "while there have been several translations of the writings of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius into the English language, there has been but one of the writings of Epictetus." Mr. Harris writes:

"The following is a copy of the title-page of a translation of Epic-

tetus, now in my possession:
"Epictetus His Morals with Simplicitus His Comment. Made English from the Greek, By George Stanhope, D.D. The second edition corrected, with the addition of the life of Epictetus from the French of Monsieur Boileau. London: Printed for Richard Sare, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn, MDCC.'"

THE Kentucky muddle will bear more light than is shed upon it by the Smith-Palmer correspondence which was submitted to Secretary gether. He boasts that he has not only not taken the amnesty oath,

most troublesome of States. Gen. Smith charged Gen. Palmer with disregarding the slave laws of Kentucky by his system of passes, which had filled the towns, cities, and camps with idle and vagrant negroes; and also with indifference to the fate of the Union officials whom, in co-operation with Gov. Bramlette, he had ordered to observe certain precautions against disloyal voters at the last election, and who had since been indicted by disloyal judges. Gen. Palmer rests his defence upon the first issue rather than upon the second, and his argument is powerful and ingenious. The truth is, that the present anarchic condition of society in Kentucky is due to the fanaticism of the slaveholders themselves before the general was called in to shield them from the consequences of their own criminal folly. When they had alarmed and confused the minds of the slaves by misrepresenting the intentions of Government towards them, and had turned away from their employment and support the families of colored soldiers, there could be no other result than a general desertion of the plantations, and a flocking of the blacks to the towns and cities. The authorities, justly apprehensive of the consequences, appealed to Gen. Palmer, who then devised the muchassailed pass-system, which, overruling the State laws forbidding the carriage of colored persons in public conveyances, permitted the bearer to go at pleasure in search of employment. Ten thousand crossed the Ohio alone. The general admits that many of these may have been slaves by Kentucky law, and many more by the pretensions of those who denied the validity of the laws of Congress. For himself, he was not concerned to separate bond from free: he always presumed that the applicant for a pass was free. Moreover, there was no slavery in Kentucky. The laws which regulate it there did not create it, nor could they maintain it in the absence of that force in which the system originated. The mere existence of a slave code does not prove the existence of slavery-unless it also does in Virginia and the other subjugated States. The general's hatred of slavery finds a hearty and unreserved expression. "It drove me from the State in my boyhood," he exclaims. "It may do it again; but it will receive no protection, acknowledgment, support, or countenance from me."

THE North Carolina Convention adjourned on Thursday last, to reassemble on the fourth Monday in May. On the 14th, it unanimously resolved to request of the President the removal of the fored troops from the State, as their presence is "very injurious to the colored people, and excessively annoying to the white." On the 16th, it voted to submit to the people the anti-secession and anti-slave y ordinances. On the 19th, it passed an ordinance preventing any future legislature assuming or paying any debt created directly or indirectly for the prosecution of the rebellion. This action was in reluctant compliance with a previous telegram from the President, which urged it strongly. For a more extended view of the character and proceedings of this convention, we refer to the letter of our correspondent at the South on another page. The Mississippi Legislature met on the 15th at Jackson. Gov. Humphreys, in his inaugural, avowed his original disbelief in the doctrine of secession, pointed to the definitive arbitrament of arms, and augured "reliable fidelity in peace" on the part of the people of the State from their "unflinching fidelity in war"-which many simple minds may regard as a non-sequityr. It was due, he continued, to the honor of a State which, by her own solemn act, had abolished slavery, to show by her future that she has done so in good faith, "and that slavery shall never again flourish in her border, in whatsoever name or guise it is brought forward." The Hon. Wm. L. Sharkey was chosen almost unanimously by the Senate last Thursday to fill the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. The Tennessee Senate on the same day passed a bill admitting negro testimony to the courts by the very close vote of 10 to 9.

GEN. HOWARD, on his way to Charleston, passed through Wilmington, N. C., where he addressed the citizens and freed people. From Charleston, where he was at last accounts, he will proceed to Columbia.

Lieut. Eldridge, one of Col. Thomas's officers, informs the Bureau that one of the strongest opponents it has in Mississippi is Joe Davis, brother of Jeff., who is loud in denouncing it and the Government to-Stanton, and which preceded the termination of martial law in that but has no intention of doing so; that he will keep his own property in spite of the Government, and will lay claim also to his brother's.

Gen. Swayne writes that he will be obliged to discharge all his contract surgeons for want of funds. The rumor which was current with the freed people that the lands will be divided amongst them at Christmas still prevails, and interferes to some extent with their making contracts at present. The general has sent Maj. Miller to Selma and Demopolis for the purpose of extending agencies along the line of the railroad on which they are situated. Chaplain Buckley, assistant superintendent, has been ordered to Montevallo, Talladega, and Jacksonville on the same errand. One of the ordinances of the late Alabama Convention was to the effect that all marriages heretofore solemnized, whether "in slavery or since emancipation, by any one officiating as a minister, or any one claiming to exercise the right to solemnize matrimony, whether bond or free, are hereby ratified and made valid, provided the parties are now living together as man and wife;" that freed people now living together as man and wife "are hereby declared to be man and wife;" that the issues of such marriages or cohabitations are hereby legitimatized; and that hereafter all freed people "shall be bound by the same laws of intermarriage and be required to conform to similar ceremonies, with the exception that they shall not be required to give bonds in marrying, as in the case of whites." But it was also made the duty of the General Assembly to prohibit the intermarriage of whites with negroes or persons of mixed blood. The northern part of Alabama has been transferred from Gen. Fisk to Gen, Swayne.

Gen. Dudley has been appointed superintendent of freedmen's affairs for West Tennessee, in place of Gen. Tillson, transferred to Georgia. His headquarters are at Memphis,

Col. Osborne, assistant commissioner for Florida, is engaged in spreading his agencies over the State. The freedmen there are doing comparatively well, but few being dependent.

Gen, A. Baird will relieve Assistant Commissioner Conway in Louisiana.

-Gen. Saxton writes to Mr. Francis G. Shaw, president of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of this city, that the resources of the Bureau are quite inadequate to relieve the destitution which exists among the colored people in his department, and which will certainly be productive of the greatest suffering this winter unless supplies are contributed from the North. The unsettling and paralysis of industry and the waste of war have brought about this result in large measure. "Thirty-five thousand blankets," says the general, "are needed in South Carolina and the Sea Islands alone." Woollen shirts, pantaloons, women's and children's under-clothing and dresses, and shoes and stockings, are also particularized. Great care will be observed in the distribution, and no article of clothing will be superfluous or amiss. Donations may be sent to the rooms of the association, 76 John Street. Gen. Saxton is constantly applied to by the old proprietors of the lands set apart by Gen. Sherman, on the Sea Islands and on the main, for a restoration of their former estates. Each application is forwarded to Gen. Howard with this endorsement by Gen. Saxton:

"The freedmen were promised the protection of the Government in their possession. This order was issued under a great military necessity with the approval of the War Department. More than forty thousand destitute freedmen have been provided with homes under its promises. Appointed executive officer to carry it out, I should break faith with the freedmen now by recommending the restoration of any of these lands. In my view, this order of General Sherman is as binding as a statute."

There can be no doubt that the late war has ensured this country hereafter a permanent and a prominent place in European discussions. England, especially at this juncture, is watching us intently; France scarcely less so. The latter is concerned for Mexico, the former anticipates perhaps from us a new way of paying off old debts. So, while arrests are brisk in Ireland—while five of the Fenian prisoners who were examined in Dublin have been committed for trial for high treason, and Mr. O'Brennan, proprietor of the Connaught Patriot, for treason and felony combined—the ports and coasts are scrupulously guarded against the admission of unlawful freight from America; not unreasonably while the brotherhood on this side of the ocean are mak-

ing such numerically imposing demonstrations as, for want of something better, our papers daily crowd their columns in reporting. The list of British holders of the Confederate loan, made public here a few weeks ago, produced a pretty fluttering among the distinguished parties implicated. Their denials, however, have been so general and so explicit, that the list must be abandoned as authentic, spite of an assertion from Washington that the original document is in possession of the Government. What is the character of that document? will still be a question, until it shall have been exactly reproduced with all the evidence in its favor. Meanwhile, it will be safest to doubt the nobility. politicians, and editors who were mixed up in the charge of speculating in our national misfortune, being so little shrewd as not to cover their tracks if they invested at all, or so confident at any time of the success of the cause which they unblushingly espoused as to risk even as many farthings as there were pounds written against their names, Lord Brougham opened the Social Science Congress at Sheffield on the 4th, to quote the language of the Spectator, " with one of those dreary addresses which travel far and say nothing." Count Bismark visited the Emperor Napoleon at Biarritz during the first week of the month, French papers attempt to disparage the significance of the interview, but Bismark's own organ at home insists upon its importance in maintaining the friendly relations between France and Prussia. It certainly follows hard upon the unexceptional denunciation of the latter country by the Paris press. The accounts of the cholera in France appear to be less threatening than hitherto. Yet it is said that the pestilence has struck inward, as in Spain, and that cases have occurred even in England, The Balearic Isles are still scourged. An Italo-American Steam Navigation Company has just been formed, with a capital of about \$4,000,000, to establish lines between Italy and North and South America. At the start, a fortnightly trip will be made between Genoa or Leghorn and New York, and a monthly trip between the same Italian ports and Rio Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Ayres, with authority to extend these lines to Naples, Messina, and Palermo. The vessels will carry the Italian flag, and an annual subsidy of \$150,000 is asked of the Government. The official recommendation to the Austrian censor of the press to be moderate in discovering and punishing offences, seems to have been heeded in the case of the editor of a Vienna paper, The New Free Press, who was sentenced, under extenuating circumstances, to a week's confinement in his own apartment! The territorial assembly of St. Petersburg held recently a brief session in that city, which is remarkable as the first meeting on equal terms of the late serfs, proprietors, and peasants, who deliberated together as delegates, not without constraint, but with encouraging harmony. Without official statistics, the assembly could do little else than formulize the subjects of reform. These were, among others, a more equitable distribution of the land-tax, and of the obligations resting upon the peasantry, such as the quartering of troops and furnishing horses to military trains; an enquiry into the means of diminishing drunkenness, which has assumed alarming proportions in consequence of the reduced price of brandy; and a similar enquiry as to the best mode of preventing destructive conflagrations in the country, for which there are no adequate safeguards. The assembly eagerly availed itself of the privilege of publishing its debates, and a reporter from the leading city paper was present at all the sessions.

There was an eclipse of the sun on Thursday last, which was visible in its various aspects over nearly the whole of North America and the northern half of South America, as well as in parts of the eastern hemisphere. It was annular to the dwellers on a narrow belt, of which the central line, beginning at the mouth of the Columbia River, passed nearly through St. Joseph, Mo., Paducah, Ky., Nashville, Tenn., and Charleston, S. C. Various scientific bodies improved so favorable an opportunity for observation. In this city the appearance of the sun at the height of its obscuration was that of an inverted crescent, whose greatest thickness was about equal to a semi-diameter. Spite of transient clouds the phenomenon was easily witnessed, though in other cities the rain prevented. A fortnight previous there was a lunar eclipse in the clearest of nights, which was visible in England and on the Continent. It lasted two hours and two minutes. The duration of the solar eclipse on Thursday was three hours and seventeen minutes.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

SOUTHERN POLICY.

WE publish in another column some very striking and suggestive letters from the commercial correspondent sent down to the South by some Massachusetts manufacturers. His opinions, as we have remarked before, are entitled to all the greater weight from the fact that he is looking at things from a purely business point of view, and his conclusions, we may add, are those which any intelligent person might fairly draw from the interesting mass of observations forwarded to us every week by our special correspondent. They are, moreover, conclusions at which any intelligent reader of the history of the last twenty years might have arrived a priori, without ever seeing a Southern newspaper or hearing a word of news from the rebellious States. The stories which the "Conservative" press tell us of the hearty acquiescence of the Southern people in the new order of things, and of their sudden determination to forget the past and become in feeling as in fact citizens of the United States, would, if true, contradict all the teachings of history and all our experience of human nature. So many wonderful things have lately happened, however, that many people doubtless consider knowledge of history and of human nature of very little value; we are, therefore, glad to have these reasons confirmed by deductions from actual observations of the facts.

In commenting a few weeks ago upon the course which the South is pursuing, we spoke of it as "a display of consummate political ability," and so we still consider it. At no time in its history have its leading men given stronger proofs of proficiency in the political art than during the last six months. A stupid, inexperienced, or clumsyminded people would, after such a conflict as they have just gone through, have done what their admirers in England expected them to do-kept up an irregular warfare, or displayed their passion and mortification in sullen, passive resistance to Federal authority. But Lee had hardly laid down his arms when their leaders seemed to take the whole situation in at a glance, and decide upon their course with that swiftness, precision, and unanimity which won them so many Congressional victories in by-gone days, and are, in our opinion, destined to win them many more. Northern fury was at once disarmed by loud protestations of submission and resignation. No pride, or sentiment, was allowed for one moment to stand in the way of any declarations which appeared to be necessary to appease the conqueror. And what has been more remarkable-and it furnishes a striking illustration of the extraordinary political discipline which is still maintained amongst the Southern population-whatever the leading men of each State decided upon was unhesitatingly supported by the whole people, without any preliminary agitation or discussion, without even meetings or newspapers. Every sacrifice which the fortune of war made necessary-such as the abolition of slavery, the repudiation of the rebel debt-or which would facilitate reconstruction, has been made with a cheerfulness which took from it all appearance of sacrifice, and has actually cheated half the North into the belief that it was no sacrifice at all, but a free-will offering. We venture to say that there is not in history a more brilliant example of power of adaptation to circumstances,

And no piece of policy, hopeless as it must have seemed at the outset to many of the Southerners themselves, hopeless as it did seem last June to all the world beside, was ever more successful. It completely disarmed Mr. Johnson in a few weeks. When he took office he was breathing nothing but threatening and slaughter against traitors-and the whole South was traitorous. He incorporated, while in his first state of mind, a clause in his amnesty proclamation intended to strike down what was left of the aristocracy at a blow, a regular declaration of "war to the châteaux." But he had hardly been two months in power, and had had a few interviews with prominent "pardon-seekers," when he roared as gently as any sucking dove. Rarev never performed idleness. And if this view of the case be correct, the responsibility more tricks with "Cruiser" than the Southern president-tamers now per- resting on all charitable persons at the North becomes greatly increased.

form on the terrible Tennesseean Democrat. They sit on him, turn him over, tie up his hands, put their heads in his mouth, make him shed as many tears and make as many "conciliatory speeches" as they please. And they took all the sting out of the "\$20,000 clause" by getting him to establish a pardoning machine, which works day and night, and into which the vilest traitor may step at any moment in the full assurance that, after a little formal tossing about inside, he will be turned out in a week or two a clean, white-robed "citizen," without a speck or stain of guilt upon him.

The effect on the country has been not less remarkable. The wrath of the North appears to have almost entirely evaporated. There seems little doubt that by New Year's Dav even Jefferson Davis himself might be dismissed to his home, with the acquiescence or approval of the great majority of the community. The indignation excited by the horrors of the rebel prison-pens has apparently concentrated itself upon one wretched underling, whose brutality, be it ever so great, is after all a more "damned spot" on the hands of those who appointed and kept him in office than on his. The real chiefs of the rebellion, the real authors of all its wees and horrors, are one by one dropping off to their homes, amidst much hand-shaking, dining, and "paying of respects," The newspapers are filled with eulogies on the Southern temper, and glowing pictures of the peace, prosperity, and, above all, of the harmony in store for us in the future. The country is tired of agitation and of strife, and is not disposed to look too narrowly into the proofs the South offers of its sincerity. Trade, too, is reviving, and Southern trade, as we all know, has always been the great anodyne of Northern politicians. In neither the Republican nor Democratic platform is there a single proposition or proviso to which the assent of the South is not already secured; so that we do not, for our parts, anticipate the exaction, next December, from the States lately in revolt of a single condition of their formal reinstalment in the Union to which they are not already fully reconciled. Their concessions to what they consider the negro-mania of the North are great. It is sheer absurdity to tell us that the abolition of slavery is nothing, the legalization of marriage and of education is nothing. They are the very foundations of civil society; but though much, they are still little. As long as the whites retain the exclusive power of legislation, the spirit of caste and the political power of the South remain unbroken, and "that unconquerable hate and study of revenge" which the correspondent whose letters we quote describes as still existing, will find a thousand means of display and gratification.

What, then, are we to look for as the result of the hasty and premature settlement which we now fear? Not, certainly, the triumph of Southern ideas, or the utter and final defeat of Northern policy; but, as we believe, a prolongation of the agitation which has torn the country for the last forty years; a renewal in the press and in Congress of the old conflict, in which the North, rich, prosperous, unwieldy, and divided, will labor under the old disadvantages in watching and foiling its adroit, astute, and compact adversary. That the South will ever be allowed to retain the negroes in its hands as political outcasts, and embody its prejudices about them in legislation, without vigorous resistance and final defeat, scarcely anybody can believe. The North is burdened with a conscience of which Southern dexterity has never been able to rob it, and the existence of a body of freemen deprived of civil rights in the midst of a democratic republic, is so great a scandal, and so revolting to the democratic feeling, that there is no chance of the country ever finally submitting to it or forgetting it. Negro disabilities will have eventually to disappear; though at what cost, or by what process, the political emancipation of the race will have to be secured, if it be not secured or provided for now, he would be a shrewd man who could conjecture.

If our fears should be realized, of course a greater portion than ever of the burden of their own deliverance will fall upon the blacks. They will have to support the exertions of their allies at the North by a constantly increasing display of energy, industry, and moral worth, for the great argument for their confirmed degradation will unquestionably be always drawn, as it is now drawn, from their ignorance or

The political importance of the work of negro education, during the next few years, becomes immense, greater far than could be ever claimed before for any similar undertaking.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

WEALTH is the result of the combined operation of labor and capital. Two consequences would seem to follow from this truth. One is, that their combined action, to produce the best effects, must be harmonious; and the other is, that the product of their joint action must be divided between them according to the natural laws by which each is respectively governed. These laws cannot be resisted without punishment. Only by obeying them is success possible. Success means the largest attainable production of wealth and its just distribution between capital and labor. If this be so, then "the eight-hour labor movement," as it is called, which is now causing some excitement and alarm in the public mind, is unwise and injurious; for its effect, if successful, would be to diminish production and give to labor a part or the whole of the profits which, by natural law, would belong to capital, which, therefore, ought to belong to it, and cannot be refused without ill consequences to both labor and capital.

To prove this, it is only necessary to state one or two plain and simple principles that relate to wages and profits and their relations to each other. These principles show that the interests of labor and capital are not opposed but identical, that they are promoted by harmonious action and injured by discord, and that the share of each in the gains of both is allotted by natural and necessary laws which cannot be resisted by any human contrivance.

The rate of wages is determined by competition among capitalists to obtain labor, and among laborers to obtain employment. Labor may be regarded as a commodity which one class has to sell and the other wishes to buy. Like all other commodities, it is governed by the natural law of supply and demand. When laborers are numerous in proportion to the demand for them, wages are low; that is to say, when labor is plenty it is cheap, just as wheat is cheap when it is plenty. When laborers are few and the demand great, wages are high, just as a failure of the wheat crop increases its price. The capitalist who buys labor tries, like all buyers, to get it as cheap as he can. The workingman who sells labor tries, like all sellers, to get as much for it as he can. The bargaining between the two is the process by which the rate of wages is ascertained, just as the market price of everything else is ascertained. It can be fixed by no other means, for there is no tribunal pos sible with power to determine it from day to day, or with knowledge equal to that of the parties. Evidently one of the parties is not such a tribunal. The market price, then, thus established by free bargaining, is the necessary price. That it is the just one, also, is to be inferred from another principle.

The market price, which is finally settled by competition or by the natural operation of the law of supply and demand, is that at which the whole of the commodity offered for sale will absorb the whole of the fund applicable to its purchase. Increase the commodity, the fund remaining the same, the price will fall. Increase the fund, the commodity remaining the same, the price will rise. This is a universal law, and rules alike the market for labor and for coal, or corn, or gold. The rate of wages will be that at which the whole of the funds applicable to the purpose will be absorbed in paying for the whole of the labor. If by low wages a part only of this fund be used, the remainder seeking similar employment will cause competition among capitalists and raise the rate. If wages are too high, the fund would be exhausted before the amount of labor is, and some of the laborers would either themselves.

The proportion, therefore, between the number of laborers and the fund for their employment determines the rate of wages. This fund is the active capital of the country not required for other means of production, as, for example, machinery. Therefore the rate of wages can be raised in two ways only: by the increase of this fund or by the de- movement as now, for never before were the laboring classes so proscrease of the number of laborers. It thus appears that by the normal, perous, The destruction of war has caused an enormous demand for unfettered action of the natural laws of industry, the capitalist and the every commodity produced by skill and toil, vast fields of enterprise

laborer are alike benefited. Should the capitalist be able to reduce wages below the natural standard, a portion of his capital would remain unemployed to his loss. Should the laborer succeed in raising wages above the rate at which the law of supply and demand would fix them, he would encroach upon funds appropriated to means of production other than labor, to the loss of the capitalist, indeed, but to his own ultimate injury also. When capital ceases to be profitable in one branch of business it seeks another, and, if there be no other at home, it goes elsewhere. If threatened with unjust legal coercion or popular violence, and both these are implied or expressed in this eight-hour labor movement, it disappears. It is very timid and far-sighted, and runs away or hides itself at the approach of danger. Its withdrawal is proof that the body politic is sick, for it is the life-blood of business, and when it goes, enterprise languishes, trade becomes inactive, production is diminished, wealth ceases to accumulate, poverty overtakes all classes, wages fall, labor becomes degraded and slavish, and civilization decays. These, as many examples in history prove, are the fatal effects of unwise and oppressive laws on the part of government, or of unjust attempts on the part of individuals to violate the security of property and the freedom. of industry.

Such is the character of the eight-hour labor movement. It is a gigantic strike, the object of which is to force capitalists to pay a rate of wages to be fixed, not by contract between the parties, but by the laborers only. Eight hours is to be henceforth a legal day's work, instead of ten hours, as at present, and the capitalist is to pay for eight hours as much as he does now for ten. He is to be compelled to do so by law, such a law as cannot "be evaded by any artifice its opponents may invent," and the members of the league pledge themselves to "visit with just and exemplary action every man and every combination that, by opposing us, shows unmistakable hostility not only to the movement we are engaged in, but to the very spirit of republican institutions," Such opponents are also stigmatized as "monarchists"-"unworthy the confidence of the people." The meaning of all this is plain enough. By political agitation, and the offer of the working-men's vote (it has been accepted by the Democratic party), legislation is to be obtained to regulate the rate of wages according to the pleasure of the laborer, which happens now to be that eight hours of work per day shall sell for as much as ten hours, and all who oppose the plan are pointed out as objects and victims of popular indignation. Jack Cade went no further than this when he declared, "There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny, and the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops." He added, also, what was a very natural consequence of the execution of such a promise: "All the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfry go to grass." Legislatures can and often have played the part of Jack Cade, and when either they or mobs shall, in this country, dictate the price at which commodities shall be sold, the time is not far distant when all things will be in common and grass grow in Broadway.

If the principles above stated be correct, it is enough to condemn the scheme of this eight-hour labor league to say that, if executed, it would diminish production, for eight hours of work cannot produce as much as ten hours, which is now called a day's work. To diminish production would be to diminish capital, the fund out of which labor is paid. It would diminish capital, also, by taking, for the laborer, a portion of it that belongs by natural law, and therefore justly, to the capitalist; and still more by the loss of confidence in the security of property and the stability of business that would be caused by the tyrannical interference of the Government with the freedom of industry and the sanctity of contracts, and by threats of popular violence.

There never was a time when the plans of this labor league could remain unemployed or soon reduce the rate by competition among have been more injurious to the working-men than at present. We have shown that the rate of wages could be increased only by increasing capital or by diminishing the number of laborers. The plan in question proposes to prevent the growth of capital at the very moment when emigration is adding more rapidly than ever before to the working classes. Moreover, there never was so little excuse for such a

and boundless sources of wealth stimulate adventure to unwonted boldness, business thrives, prices are high, wages are high, all pursuits are calling more loudly than ever for work—free work, energetic work, well rewarded work. The nation calls for it, too, in order that she may bear the heavy load of debt and taxation imposed by the war. More than ever before is work needed and demanded, better than ever before is it paid. What is the answer of the working-men if they are represented by this labor league? "We will work less than ever, and must be paid as much for the small as for the large quantity. We control political power, and by its hand will add to our wages the profits of the capitalist. All who oppose us are monarchists, aristocrats, enemies to free institutions, and shall feel our vengeance."

This movement comes certainly at a most unpropitious moment for us all. The labor of two hours a day for the whole country would pay the interest of the national debt twice over. The loss of capital which the violent measures of the labor league, if carried out, would cause, would amount to a much larger sum. Only by the united efforts of labor and capital can we expect to pay the debt. Can we do it with diminished resources? To stop work is to impoverish the country and repudiate the debt.

THE CRISIS IN PRUSSIA.

PRIOR to the outbreak of 1848, William, Prince of Prussia, the childless King's oldest brother, was the most unpopular man in the country, being regarded as the representative man of the feudal and military reaction. During the Berlin street-fights he absconded to England, for the purpose, as his friends asserted, of studying democracy and constitutional liberty. On the credit of these researches he was elected to the Assembly after his return, occupied a seat there for one day, and then turned his enquiring mind exclusively to the art of war. In 1849 he was at the head of the troops sent into Baden and the Palatinate to subdue the republicans. Outnumbering their opponents ten to one, his soldiers won easy victories, which he has since vaunted as the most heroic exploits of the age. He caused about forty captured republicans to be shot down in cold blood, and distinguished himself by other useless cruelties. During the reactionary period of 1850 to 1857, excluded even from the confidence of the camarilla, he lived in a sort of exile at Coblenz, on the Rhine. It is inherent in the system that the reigning monarch should suspect the heir presumptive, and the heir apparent grumble at the living ruler.

William I., who has worn the crown since 1860, now sixty-eight years of age, is of an order of talent decidedly inferior to the ordinary standard of mediocrity. Narrow-minded and stubborn, his education was more than defective, his tastes are the reverse of intellectual, and his passion is the army. For the soldiers he provides with paternal care, understanding the minutest details of the service, and scrupulously attending to them. The very ideal of a drill-sergeant, he is more interested in the number of buttons on a coat than in the gravest question of public law. The highest reach of his intellect travels over the same range of subjects as did his brother's disordered fancy; an observation to which the populace of Berlin have given expression by dubbing him "Lehman II." At a grand review of the victorious Schleswig-Holstein army, in 1864, the King, observing a stalwart sergeant decorated with more than one badge of extraordinary merit, called him out of the ranks and enquired his name. The favored one turned very red, and answered, "John." "John what?" asked his majesty. "It is n't my fault, sire," the hero blurted out, "but my name is Lehman too, and it is the only surname I have got."

Nothing could indicate more unmistakably the unpopularity of the last years of Frederic William IV. than the fact that, on assuming the duties of the regency, his brother was for a time the most popular man in Prussia. These two years were the honeymoon of his reign. The abolition of some of the most obnoxious abuses, such as the Manteuffel ministry, and the suspension of the chicanery of gens-d'armes and police commissioners, so perfectly sated the moderate political cravings of the people that they talked of nothing but the "new era," and acted as though they had reached the political millennium. They were soon to learn that liberties are not the gifts of princes, but the laborious achievements of the people.

The first apple of discord sprang out of the Italian war of 1859. In placing his army on a war footing-for what ally or against what enemy no one could tell-he discovered that the "Landwehr," his main reliance, was ill-prepared for offensive operations, and still less for mere demonstrations. The standing army, in which every man of the proper age was required to serve for two years, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three years, numbered, in times of peace, no more than 120,000 men. The soldiers discharged from serving with the flag were attached for three years to the reserve. To increase the defensive power of the country a further body, consisting of those discharged from the reserve, constituted the "Landwehr," who were regimented and officered, but called to arms for about a month in the year, or every two years, only. There was a "Landwehr" of the first ban and a "Landwehr" of the second ban, the latter comprising men between the ages of thirtyone and forty years, to be summoned to the field on great emergencies only. The standing army and the Landwehr of the first call together constituted a body of 600,000, while the addition of the Landwehr of the second call would swell the grand total to about 800,000 men, equal to about four per cent. of the whole population. Of course the "mobilization" of such a force involved the derangement of the entire business and industry of the country, an inconvenience which would have been little regarded in times of foreign invasion or great public danger, but which, when the necessity of the step was by no means apparent to the common understanding, became exceedingly irksome to the people, and operated as a hindrance to the Government. Besides, the institution had been suffered to fall into neglect; the officers were inexperienced, unfit for the field, and strangers to their men. The whole was too much like a militia to be pitted against well-drilled troops,

To remedy these defects, the thirty-six infantry regiments of the Landwehr, instead of being drilled for only a month in the year, were kept permanently under arms, and practically converted into regiments of the line, and the number of the cavalry and artillery of the standing army were gradually enhanced to correspond with the increased force of infantry. The requisite number of recruits was to be obtained by increasing the number of years' service required in the standing army from five to seven years, three of which were to be passed (by the infantry) under the flag, and four with the reserve, while the years of service in the second ban of the Landwehr were to be reduced four years. The number of recruits annually raised for the army, hitherto amounting to 40,000, was to be enhanced to 63,000, and the first ban of the Landwehr, or Landwehr Proper, was to go out of existence.

But the Landwehr, in the eyes of every Prussian, was the most hallowed of institutions, the last relic of the democratic enactments of the Stein and Hardenberg period. It realized the cherished idea, embodied in a law of 1814, that every able-bodied Prussian, without distinction of wealth or rank, is bound to defend his country so long as his years permit. It was the exponent of the equality of the citizens before the law, and the bulwark of the nation's liberties against foreign and domestic foes, which had compassed the downfall of Napoleon in 1813 and had stood silently but powerfully between the Government and the subject in 1848. Moreover, the alteration was unnecessary. Its utmost effect was to raise the standing force to about 210,000 men. But the same result would be produced by recruiting the army annually with 86,000, instead of 63,000 men, for which statisticians showed the population furnished abundant materials. In that case, and if the time of service in the Landwehr had been set down as extending to the thirtysixth year of the age of every Prussian, the latter body might have been preserved, the time of service in the army under the flag retained at two years, and that in the reserve limited to three years. It involved an increase of the funded debt of nearly ten millions of thalers, and of the annual budget of three millions. It would strengthen all the absolutistic elements of the body politic, especially the landed gentry, who were its most ardent supporters, because they wanted lieutenancies for their younger sons. It would tempt the crown to a coup d'état, by employing the very instrument with which such deeds are consummated, the standing army.

These were weighty objections, yet not absolutely unanswerable. If the Landwehr could only be preserved at the expense of the national greatness, it had ceased to be a sacred institution. The proposed increase was not larger in proportion than that of the population since Rothschilds only, but from Erlanger, the noted Jew who brought the ficient in number to hold all the commissions. It would have been easy to stipulate for the infusion of an increased element of commoners into the body, and to abolish such little abuses as might have given the officers of noble birth some slight advantages. The fear of a coup d'état was hardly warranted in view of the fact that these soldiers were in uniform for three years only, and returned to the body of the citizens from which they came; that the persons to be introduced into the army were the same who would otherwise form the very Landwehr on whom the Liberals placed so much reliance; the proposed army would have been practically the people in arms, and a very bad utensil for an assault upon its own liberties; and the very increase demanded by the Government would necessitate further revenues, and thereby make the Government more dependent on the Assembly.

There could not have been a fairer subject for discussion, and for one of those adjustments between the Crown and the legislature contemplated by the theory of constitutional governments. To obtain the desired appropriations, the Government should have cheerfully made concessions in regard to the organization of the army itself, and on collateral subjects, such as the liberty of the press, of public meetings, of trade, or of migration, then before the public. In return for such a concession, the Assembly should have been liberal, for their liberality would have redounded to their own advantage. But the Frussian mind appears to be disqualified for such a transaction. In this instance the King began by introducing his reform without consulting the Chambers. This might have been adroit had it been followed up by a civil explanation, an exposition of the greatness of the emergency and a request for indemnity. But, instead of this, the Crown announced the measure as an act of superior wisdom, in which the people were bound to acquiesce without a murmur. The lower house, refusing to sanction the change as a permanent one, endeavored to compromise the matter by authorizing a loan for extraordinary expenses for the war establishment, without specifying them. The ministers took the money, and invested it in a reorganization of the army, which, in some subordinate respects, was even less congenial to the wishes of the people than the scheme originally proposed by the ministers, but rejected. Notwithstanding this insolent breach of faith, the Chamber made another effort at compromise in the shape of an amendment substituting a term of two years for that of three years, for which the Government scheme required every man to serve in the regular army. The proposal was rejected on the ground that, although two years are sufficient to impart the mere military instruction which is needed, they are not sufficient to imbue the recruit with that proper sense of his "profession" which the Government think it necessary to instil, or, in other words, that an army of soldiers who had not ceased to be citizens for over two years was not sufficiently dangerous to the liberties of the people. Such an avowal removed the last remnant of solicitude for a compromise, and the deputies flatly refused to pass the appropriation bill. The Assembly was dissolved and a new one elected, in which, however, the Government found itself with only nine supporters out of three hundred and fifty, and which, of course, was even less tractable than its predecessor. The ministry, now headed by Count Bismark Schoenhausen, met their refusal to vote moneys with an unqualified declaration that they would thereafter dispense with the advice or assistance of the Chamber on any and every subject. The upper house sustained the Government's appropriation bill, but that vote is admitted on all hands to be of no more avail than would be a similar proceeding on the part of one of

Such is the present condition of Prussia: a cabinet practically exercising irresponsible power, but unable to levy a new tax or to borrow a dollar; a representative assembly unanimous against the ministry, but at present unable to displace them or to control their policy. The turn of affairs will arrive when the financial necessities of the Government will admit of no further delay. Then they must either advertise for a loan on their own responsibility, or make terms with the Assembly it needs softening; it needs that sense which the Italians call simpatico, to obtain their sanction. If they do the former, will the capitalists of as much an essential to national as to individual character. Europe heed them? Refusals have already come in, not from the

1813, the date of its establishment. The wealth of the country had in-rebel cotton loan into circulation. One of their latest operations was creased still more rapidly. The sprigs of the nobility were hardly suf- to raise thirty-two millions of thalers from the Cologne and Minden Railroad Company by releasing to them the right of the Government to buy out their stock-an instance at once of the great prosperity of the corporation and of the difference in the views of public law prevailing in that country and in our own, where such a step could not possibly be taken without legislative interposition. The amount of money in question is sufficient to defray the extraordinary expenses of the Government for several years. Thus a matter of military administration has been converted into a great political question. The conflict has increased in bitterness and animosity since the fall of 1862, when the helm of state passed into the hands of Bismark, the most reckless political gambler ever at the head of the foreign affairs of a great state. He is not without some of the qualities which go to make a statesman, such as tenacity in adhering to a line of policy once adopted, "masterly inactivity" where positive action is not available, and, above all, a degree of pluck unheard of in a Prussian minister, and in singular contrast to the Austro-Russian subserviency invariably observed for more than half a century. So little were the diplomatists prepared for this new development that great successes have been achieved in the Schleswig-Holstein question. Had this man appeared in the days of the Abbé Bernis, of Robert Walpole, or Kaunitz, he would have made a permanent mark on the history of his times; but he is destined to signal failure in attempting to brave the public opinion of the nineteenth century. The latest arrivals report an interview between him and Louis Napoleon, of whom he claims to be the pupil, but who will make a victim of him

He has done great harm to the position of Prussia in the politics of Germany. All the prejudices of the Southern Germans against this power are aggravated to their highest pitch when they see it in the hands of such a man. Nevertheless, Germany will never be united except under Prussian leadership. So much the more important is it for the Liberals of Prussia to cast off this incubus, and restore their country to its legitimate position as the champion of liberal principles. They can do so with a tithe of the audacity evinced by their opponents. Perhaps the real mission of the present régime has been to educate the Liberals, by the force of example, out of the timidity which has heretofore frustrated all their efforts.

NATIONAL CHARITIES.

If it has not charity, a nation, like a man, is nothing. If it does not provide, through its government or its people, for such of its members as are unable to provide for themselves, it may be great in all other things, great in winning victories, great in extending its boundaries or its resources, great in enlarging its institutions and equalizing its classes, but because it does not do this one thing, and relieve those who have a claim to its relief, it is a small nation-small in the worst sense, and its shame exceeds its glory.

Lament as we will, for the sake of the suffering classes themselves, that there are so many of them to suffer, and that their number increases rather than diminishes, at least to the sight, if not in reality, there need be no lamentation for the nation that is bound to relieve them. It can have no debt so heavy, no expenditure so severe, that the addition of the few millions to its annual outlay can be a pecuniary burden of any magnitude. It can have no such strain upon its time or its energy that the labor of ministering to the necessities of the needy can be a cause of exhaustion. What it gives in money or care is no more than it can easily spare, and no one thinks of condoling with a people because of these demands upon them. The demands to be lamented are of quite another description. Nor is the national life complete without this element of suffering on the one hand and of ministering on the other. A nation ablaze with prosperity is a wearying spectacle to itself as to all around it:

"Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,"

Enough, and perhaps too much, of this on a subject which has been

handled until it is pretty well worn. The only excuse for saying as pital itself consists, not only in being relieved from the care of those doubtful whether they are really charities.

Among the mistakes into which we have fallen, is that of organizing our charitable institutions upon a basis of gregariousness. We build one house, and fill it with orphans; another, and fill it with criminals. We scour the state for inebriates or lunatics, offenders or vagrants, and crowd them, according to their classes, into huge establishments, where the individual is lost in the mass, and the influence upon the whole is the only influence to bear upon its parts. A system of this kind may be necessary in particular cases, especially in certain sorts of hospitals, where the sufferers must be collected in order to receive the succor of which they are in daily need from the skilful hands of the physician or the nurse. But there are, or ought to be, exceptions; and admitting them, the rule should be all the stronger that the members of a com-'munity in an abnormal state should be treated separately rather than collectively, with reference to that which makes each instance abnormal, and with the purpose of toning it down, and allowing it to subside as much as possible into the general condition of the community at large. To effect this, the sufferers, instead of being herded together, should be, in the majority of cases, kept apart, detained at their natural homes, if they have any, or placed in adopted homes, if these are required, where they can live like their fellow-beings, and share the associations and impressions which do more than anything human to relieve the trials of this life, alike for the fortunate and the unfortunate.

This is far too large a topic to enter upon here in any detail. But there is one illustration of these general principles, one that has prompted the writing of this article, upon which we beg leave to be heard a little longer.

At the close of a war so severe to those engaged in it as that through which we have passed, a large number of men, once able-bodied, have become disabled, and some of them so entirely disabled as to depend upon others for support or pecuniary assistance. Many of them, by far the larger number, will find the succor they need among their kindred, the pension received from the Government supplying them with pecuniary means, and the gracious ministrations of home supplying all else that is required in their behalf. But there are others whose homes are broken up, perhaps in consequence of the war, perhaps for other and sadder reasons; and these men, however pensioned, are not cared for as they should be until something more than a pension is provided for them, something that may take the place of a home and soothe the weary frame and the shattered life with watchful attention and sympathy. For such as these, the martyrs above all other martyrs to our cause, the nation stands ready at this moment to do what justice as well as charity demands. What shall be done? Shall a so-called Home, a vast establishment in the form if not the name of a Chelsea or a Greenwich Hospital, be built, furnished, and officered, where our wounded, maimed, and dying heroes shall spend the remnant of their days? Shall they be kept by themselves without other companionship than that which they can give one another, without other sympathies than those which spring from the well-fought field or the suffering which set in for them when the sun went down upon their victory? Or shall they be placed, each in his own neighborhood, if not his own home, among those who, living like the rest of us, will help these sufferers to live like the rest of us, and to be distingushed from those around them, not by being enclosed within the walls of an asylum, but only by the marks they bear of having suffered what others did not, perhaps would not, suffer for their country ?

The recent experience of Greenwich Hospital may help us to decide these questions upon practical as well as general grounds. The pensioners of this great naval asylum, hitherto supposed to be the most contented if not the most active of their class, on being offered the privilege of leaving the hospital and returning to their families or to quarters of their own choosing, with the out-pension which they had relinquished on entering the hospital and an additional allowance of heaven? Over and over again, in every form but one, have we set forth two shillings a day, so generally availed themselves of the offer that the principle of human equality before the law. We have boasted of none but infirm or aged pensioners are said to remain in the Hospital. our land as the free home of all races. We have insulted other nations The gain to the retiring pensioners is clear enough. That to the Hos- in the vehemence of our declamation. And now are we brought face

much is that we may not be misunderstood when we urge the danger preferring to be cared for elsewhere, but in the great pecuniary saving of overdoing our charities, or of so administering them as to make it to the funds of the institution; for though it pays the pensions of its former inmates, it saves many thousand pounds sterling a year in consequence of their withdrawal.

> Let us trust that this step, which has been taken in correction of mistakes made in England, may prevent similar mistakes from being made in the United States.

THE ONE HUMANITY.

THE phrase which is now used as a rallying cry by the Democratic party, "that this is a white man's country," and which they are seeking to embody in their policy towards the South, expresses the very lowest conception of government.

It is a low conception of government that it exists merely for protection; in other words, to keep the hands of one man from invading the person or the property of another. The true reason of political society is the education and elevation of our humanity. It is not merely to Gov, but τὸ εὐ ζῆν, as Aristotle so tersely expresses it—not merely to live, but to live well. The true political economy is not wealth, nor commerce, nor works of internal improvement, nor anything that enters into what is commonly called national prosperity, except as subordinate to a nobler aim, and that is, to carry the human culture to its highest perfection-to produce the noblest style of man collectively and in each individual embraced in the political organization. It is to raise us from that low, selfish, animal, individualizing life which we live, each man by himself, into that higher and more rational humanity which we live with others. It is this alone that makes the state truly what a false and ignorant conservatism is so fond of styling it-a divine institution. It is this alone that can realize that old Socratic idea which is never to be surrendered-the glorious dream of a perfect earthly republic whose "rulers are philosophers," and in whose temple there dwelleth the "perfect righteousness." It is this alone that can raise to its highest dignity the state on earth, by making it one, at last, with the upper politeuma, or church "that cometh down from God out of heaven."

This is the Bible doctrine of the state. Such, too, however improperly conceived, was the view of the great thinkers of antiquity. With them, however, it had one most serious and vital defect. They founded the state too much, or too exclusively we might say, on race; and hence their failure. Christianity has changed this by bringing in a new principle; and now human political institutions have another trial, with a better, though it may be long a delayed, hope. It has brought out and placed in the front that glorious truth which Paul preached on Mars Hill, in the midst of the race-bigoted Athenians: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth." The aim of the Christian state is no longer to make the best Greeks, or the best Romans, or the best Anglo-Saxons, but the best men. It is no longer a "white" man's government, any more than it is a red man's or a black man's. All such preposterous assumptions stamp it as anti-Christian, and forfeit its claim to be regarded as a vicegerency of God. If we may use the language of the mart and the manufactory, the great business of the state is to turn out the best specimens of the article homo. In other and better words may we say: its lofty ideal, its divine mission, is to help all the weak, to lift up all the fallen, to raise to the highest culture of which he is capable every son of Adam that breathes upon its territory.

This is not a theme for mere essay writing. It involves the greatest and most practical question now before this nation. We boast of having gone beyond others in social and political science, but we have come at last to a place where the claim is to be most solemnly tested. This question of race is put before us as a stone of stumbling, or a rock of exaltation. It is for the rising or the falling of our Israel. We have a glorious call to the performance of the true mission of a Christian state, Do we feel that glory? Have we any true sense of the honor that God is putting upon us in appointing us to such a trial, such a missionmore distinctly announced to us than ever before to any nation under or of moral worth,

Why this odious distinction as against one race? It is because the loathsome trail of slavery has passed over us, leaving its foul slime upon its immediate victims and producing everywhere a misgiving as to of others; it lingers unconsciously, or semi-consciously, with many whose philanthropy or political consistency holds them back from confessing it even to themselves; it haunts the soul as a ghostly prejudice, even when philosophy and religion have made us reject it as a dogma. could not act or reason as we do unless this were the case. Our moral morality that must result from the belief, once thoroughly popularized, that men, or any that have seemingly the physical and ethical characteristics of men, are really animals of distinct and graded species. Our the contrary opinion, when it has once settled down into the common mind, must make in our Biblical and Christian theology,

Were it not for this, we could not treat the colored man as we do in our social and religious relations; we could not bear the moral and political inconsistency; we could not face either the world or our own convictions; we should have to shut our Bibles; we could not read, or bear to hear read, our Declaration of Independence. Thus are we compelled in self-defence to dehumanize the negro. It is demanded as an opiate to conscience. If he is truly a man, as we are men, then are we so greatly guilty. Even the vilest party discipline would have to yield to the claim of acknowledged manhood. There is a party among us that has reached the minimum of littleness, and the maximum of loathsomeness, in making the scorn and debasement of a crushed race the sole foundation of their political edifice. Its column has no other base than the bruised head of the negro. It is a party that has squandered everything else that ever had the semblance of principle, and now this cry of "nigger" is the only capital remaining to it. Yet even political and social polity. Even the Copperhead Democrat would become ashamed of himself; he could not face the questions that would arise if stripped of his vile plea (whether believed by himself or not) vitality.

controversy respecting him. It underlies all others. It affects our fifteen thousand army wagons and ambulances, have been disposed of reasoning in respect to all other aspects of the debate; it colors our at public sale. One hundred and fifty steam and sailing vessels owned speech, it gives a hue to our thought, it weakens our best arguments, it has the Government have been sold, and over five hundred steam and lican press as canting and sectarian!

or affect to do so, without seeming to be aware that the style we adopt, subordinate to the War Office. the arguments we employ, though seemingly in his favor, are really dehumanizing the subject to which they are applied. We do not speak furnishes a parallel to the rapidity of organization with which hundor write thus concerning any other classes among us, however low we reds of thousands of men were, every year of the war, brought into the may think them in the outward social scale. Even when we advocate field. If it deserves credit for the truly wonderful expeditiousness with the cause of the African, we do it in a manner that would be thought which it organized armies and supplied them, with admirable foreinsulting and utterly undemocratic in any other case. We use the lan-thought and unstinted liberality, with all the necessary appliances for

to face with a question that will test it all. We are reluctant to conguage of masters and owners. The style of our ordinary questions betrays cede to the African what we boast of giving to others-what we almost this. It is not what is due to them, as men equally with ourselves coming force upon others presenting no higher claims, apparently, of intellectual | under the reciprocal obligation of the Golden Rule, but " what shall we do with them," what shall we give or concede, or what shall we withhold, Who would thus defend Irish citizenship, or the admission of Irishmen to our railroad cars, or to our charches, or to our communion-tables? The way in which we speak to the colored man, and of the colored their proper humanity. It has tainted the national mind. The doubt man, shows an unconscious yielding to the anti-christian prejudice we is openly avowed by some; it lies as an unsatisfied query in the minds are striving to overcome. Frederick Douglass said that Mr. Lincoln was the only man he knew that could talk to a colored person without some appearance of condescension. The fact reveals one of the noblest traits in the noble character of our martyred President. But the gene ral observation of the shrewd and intelligent Douglass was undoubtedly We do not fully and heartily believe that the negro is a man. We true. There is a timidity, an apologetic pleading, that we would not think of adopting if we were advocating a right grounded on the clear world is not fully persuaded of it, notwithstanding the wreck of all true conscious acknowledgment that those who are thus defended are really men, and have the same rights which our religious code, no less than our Declaration of Independence, challenges for all men.

We might dwell here, or we may dwell at some other time, on some religious world is held back from its hearty practical acknowledgment, of the fearful consequences that have been barely alluded to, of the efnotwithstanding the havor which both reason and conscience tell us feet which the leaving this issue unsettled, or settled wrong, would have upon the most important aspects of human belief-its debasement of our politics, its degradation of our psychology, the ruin it would make in our theology, its undermining of Christian belief, its tendency to darken even natural religion, with all the proofs it is supposed to offer of human dignity and human immortality -all gone the moment we begin to make essential distinctions in humanity, or to treat it at all as a mere matter of degree, or to take one step downwards on that Stygian ladder that shall connect our human, through successive gradations, with all the brutal animality that lies below. The degradation of one part is the degradation of all, and hence the thought we would labor to impress, that every man has both a selfish and a fraternal interest in the elevation of every other man.

REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Six months ago one million and eighty thousand men were borne this party, low and hard as it has become, could not keep together its upon the pay-rolls of the army of the United States. Before the end own ignorant followers against a clear and settled recognition of the of the present month, this almost inconceivable number will be reduced humanity of those whom they would thus treat as outcasts from the to less than one hundred thousand, and by the time Congress meets fully one million names will be stricken from the lists of the disbursing bureaus of the War Department. And, apace with the disbanding of this immense host, reductions and retrenchments on a li' vast scale of the African's want of a proper manhood. So true it is that a false have been made in all the branches of the military service by sale and feeling outside of this party is the aliment that gives it all its poisonous discharge. In the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments an army of citizen employees has been dismissed. By the former no less Is the negro a man? Say what we will, this is the real issue in the than two hundred and twenty-five thousand horses and mules, and some gives strength to our worst fallacies. We say it boldly, and appeal to other craft, chartered for army-transportation, discharged. The hundthe public consciousness. It is everywhere, and most truly was it said reds of locomotives and cars used by the Government on Southern railby General Howard, that "nothing but the spirit of Christ can over- roads have also been sold; the numerous and extensive workshops of come it." Strange that such a declaration should have been left to be every description in operation at all the bases of supply have been shut made by one of our major-generals, only to be denounced by a repub- up; the Medical Department has emptied and closed its one hundred and ninety general hospitals, with a capacity of one hundred and twen-We must meet the issue fairly, and settle it once and for ever, before ty thousand beds, and sold its useless property. The Ordnance Departwe can deal with others that are collateral to it. We do not sufficiently ment has discharged thousands of hands engaged in the manufacture think how vital and fundamental this question is. We are evading it. of ammunition at the public arsenals and armories, and has stopped Some do this consciously, many unconsciously, and without any dis- work in many private foundries engaged day and night in the casting tinct idea of the nature and results of their reasoning. We talk humanely, and finishing off of artillery. And so of every bureau and department

The Government justly maintains that the history of no other nation

successful warfare, it is also entitled to no small meed of praise for the energy, order, and quickness with which, upon the return of peace, it undertook and carried out the gigantic work of relieving the public treasury at the earliest possible moment of the burden of so enormous a military establishment. A task of such proportions was never so well performed in so short a time, and the Republic can be no less proud of the comparative quiet, regularity, and despatch of the disbanding of its mighty armies than of the enthusiasm and alacrity with which great hosts of loyal citizens arrayed themselves under its banners for the struggle to maintain the integrity of the nation. The public at large can have no adequate conception of the amount of labor involved in this undertaking. The Quartermaster's Department has transported some seven hundred thousand men from every part of the Union to their respective homes since April last. In the same time the Pay Department has disbursed three hundred millions of dollars. As every officer and man and every citizen employee of the million discharged can be said to have a separate account with the Government, the intricacy and toil of examining and adjusting the whole mass are almost overwhelming. This one incident of the work of disbanding sufficiently illustrates its magnitude and difficulty.

In thus closing up the work of the rebellion, the Secretary of War and Lieutenant-General Grant have earned as great honor as during the continuance of the war. Both were equally impressed with the practicability, in view of the complete destruction of the resisting power of the rebellious States, as well as with the necessity, in view of the condition of the public finances, of reducing the military establishment of the country with the least possible delay to a numerical minimum, and both have acted upon this conviction with their usual thoroughness and vigor. As the fruit of their joint labors they will be able to show, in their annual reports to Congress, a much greater reduction of public expenditures on account of the army than has been anticipated by the most sanguine. The annual appropriation which the Secretary will ask for his department will, in all probability, not exceed sixty millions of dollars—less than one-twentieth of what the Government had to expend during the last year of the war.

But there is a dark as well as a bright side to this picture of the rapid dwindling away of the loyal armies to so low a figure. The general orders issued within the last fortnight, which direct the mustering out of a large number of white infantry regiments, all the troops serving on the Plains, all the volunteer cavalry on duty cast of the Mississippi, and all such colored troops, in the various military departments, as are not absolutely required by the commanding generals, will reduce the aggregate remaining in the service, as already stated, to about eighty thousand men. Of these at least ten thousand are non-effectives, and twenty thousand more will be needed for garrison duty in forts and cities of the loyal States and on the Pacific coast, leaving thus only fifty thousand men for the preservation of order in the rebel States. Of this number ten thousand will be needed to garrison the large cities of the South. If the rest were to be equally distributed over disloyal territory, but a corporal's guard would fall to each county. The question will present itself at once to every mind, whether this force will be sufficient to ensure the tranquillity of the rebel States, and the protection due to their emancipated people. The spirit manifested by their white population, and the late actions of the several State conventions, are hardly calculated to remove all apprehensions on this score. The withdrawal from the subdued States of fully one half of the troops stationed therein, though proposed by General Grant and approved by the Secretary of War, on the sole ground of economy, is tantamount to a relaxation of military rule, and hence to a political measure. It is, like President Johnson's reconstruction policy, an experiment, dependent on the good faith of the people of the South for success. And, while we devoutly hope and pray that its working may realize the expectations of its originators, we cannot help thinking that the protective powers exercised by General Howard's agents for the benefit of the freed people will be sadly weakened by it. The source and support of their authority has been military force. That gone, or so reduced as to deprive it of the power of intimidation, we fear their usefulness will be more and more impaired until Congress comes to their relief.

"EARNESTNESS."

The North Carolina Times, a journal devoted, like most other journals at the South, to the President's policy of reconstruction, has recently taken us to task for our comments on the doings and sayings of Governor Perry, of South Carolina, and prefaces its rebuke by the following observations on the general character of The Nation:

"Among the many daily and weekly journals of the revolutionary school which are to be found in our country there is no one, perhaps, more ably conducted than THE NATION, which is issued in the city of Every article which appears in its columns, bearing at all New York. upon the Administration or its policy, is gotten up with a degree of ability, closeness of reasoning, and finely laid-off line of argument, which cannot fail of attracting attention, and, to a certain extent, commanding respect. It assails the President of the United States upon every conservative point salient in his avowed policy towards the South, and does so in a manner free from the gross and unrefined style of other but more widely-known radical journals. There is always a something in its style which impresses the reader with a conviction that he is reading from a journal which is devoted to the Administration, but which has carned the right to correct, in the policy of the President, what is not in accordance with the writer's views of the political requirement. The incautious reader is apt to be led into deep error by this sheet, and it is therefore the more dangerous to the peace and quiet of the country at large, and to that people in particular now trying to re-establish proper relations to the Union.

How far the complimentary portion of the foregoing is well-founded, we must, of course, leave our readers to determine; but we cannot, for our own part, help seeing in it, coming from such a source, a strong testimony to the efficacy of the policy to which we have from the outset endeavored to adhere as well as the necessities of journalism would let us. Complete accuracy of statement is not always possible in a newspaper, but it is always possible to strive after it, and to exhibit a proper sense of its value. So, also, it is not always possible, at great exciting crises, to avoid the occasional use of language which opponents may consider wanting in moderation. But it is possible to show dislike of violence and exaggeration, to show that you know them to be what they really are, forms of falsehood and injustice, which, before the fight is half over, are pretty sure to do as much execution in your own ranks as in those of the enemy. These things we have endeavored to do, though at the risk of misconception. Our course has, in fact, led some of our contemporaries to lament in a piteous manner over our " want of earnest-

The great object of talking and writing is, we believe, not so much to show other people how one feels, as to affect their feelings, and the display of one's own feelings is only useful in political discussion in so far as it accomplishes this purpose. Two-thirds of the rant that one meets with on the platform and in the press is really due to the intense desire of orators and writers to display their own points and put their own enthusiasm "on record," no matter what their influence may be on the public. We think for our part that the true test of excellence in writing and speaking is, after all, the effect it produces on those to whom it is addressed, and if this were more widely remembered, we should probably have fewer bursts of eloquence and displays of "fine frenzy," but all good causes would make much more rapid

There is an opinion prevalent amongst many excellent friends of reform that no impression can be made on the American public without "strong writing," high coloring, exaggeration, and a fair amount of contempt for bare facts. We think this has always been a mistake, and we think it is now a greater mistake than ever. What the American public wants is common-sense, logic, clearness of statement, and a decent regard for the literal, unadorned truth, and it will not accept any amount of fine writing or "enthusiasm" in lieu of them. And strange as it may seem to some, it is possible to throw just as much "earnestness" into the use of these weapons as into that of any number of climaxes or tropes.

One of the grandest results of the war has been that it has opened all parts of the country to free speech. It has rendered it possible to advocate human rights, and to profess respect for man, as man, in any circle of society, without being considered a sectary or a visionary. It has interested immense numbers of people in all parts of the North in the general work of reform and in the progress of liberal ideas who

never were interested in them before. It has awakened amongst whole of the war at fifty cents per diem, cutting fire wood and drawing water, who classes of society, who were previously plunged in the hardest materialism, a respect and even a passion for "mere ideas." It has, too, given the whole country a keener appreciation than it ever possessed before of the value of facts, of the inevitable limits placed by time and space and circumstances to the realization of the noblest and most glowing aspirations. In other words, the public has lived half a century in the last four years. Experience, which many other nations have not won in as many generations, has been crowded into this small space, and one of the invariable results of experience is the development of a spirit of criticism, of a disposition to weigh and consider as well as to feel.

It seems to us that, in all attempts to influence the public mind for good purposes, count must be taken of these changes. The tactics which might have been justifiable when the enemy was entrenched behind rigid party lines would hardly be suitable after his organization has been in some measure broken up, and he has come down to meet us in the open field of fair discussion. We can get large numbers of people now to listen to the advocacy of principles to which a few years ago their hearts, as well as their ears, were impenetrably closed-people, too, whose influence on the national progress is most potential; but they will only listen on condition that they are addressed in the words of soberness and truth. And we confess that to us the work of permeating American society with real democratic feeling, in the highest and Christian sense of the word, is far too important to allow us ever to feel tempted to endanger or retard its success by cheap displays of rhetorical "earnestness."

THE TEMPER OF THE SOUTH,

THE following letters are from the correspondence of the commercial agent, now travelling at the South, from whom we have already quoted so freely. It would be difficult to exaggerate their interest and importance:

NEW ORLEANS, October 1, 1865.

DEAR SIR: Up to this time I have refrained from expressing any opinion in relation to the temper, policy, or designs of the people at the South, except as regards their relations toward the freedmen. I abstained Labstained purposely, and for two reasons: first, I desired ample time and opportunity in order to form an intelligent and impartial idea of their tone of feeling under the new and peculiar circumstances in which they have been placed; and next, I should not now have ventured to obtrude my opinion upon you, had you not done me the honor to request it. I have, as is natural under the circumstances, occupied myself in a very considerable degree in observ-ing their general state of mind, in listening to their plans and hopes and fears for the future, and, in fact, in attempting to understand their present position and future prospects. In travelling about as I have from one section of the country to the other, I have been able to compare opinions, and, as you know, I have had peculiar and favorable opportunities for ascertaining the views they have in common. I have endeavored to trace the motives from which they have acted and which now animate them, and their real purpose for the future, if they have one. In giving you my opinion now, it is proper to say that I have taken no one individual as a criterion of the whole, and have judged them only by the opinions I find they are generally agreed upon; neither have I any one's statement for their thoughts and actions. My opinions, deductions, and conclusions are derived from my own experience and observation among them, and whether they shall be confirmed or denied by others, are, notwithstanding, my honest and sincere convictions.

My opportunities for mixing among them and arriving at their real and true sentiments have been considerable and frequent, and I have made use of them to the full extent of my ability. I now propose to write you a letter, or letters, giving you my full opinion, with all the conclusions I have been able to arrive at. If any statement in it may appear to you worth making

One needs but a short time to remark, among this people, that while the war has impoverished them, reducing the most wealthy among them almost to very paupers, and bringing all down to one common level, so far as goods and money are concerned, it has yet given an immense impetus to the whole Southern country, developed a degree of latent force and energy among the inhabitants that was, to say the least, quite unexpected, and has tended directly towards making them more of a self-supporting, self-reliant community than before the war, by the consolidation of their interests and resources. Nor is the movement likely to cease with the war. The poor white goes back to his home with his mind enlarged and strengthened, and capable of grasping ideas which he never even attempted to comprehend before the war. His discipline has improved him immensely, so far as his capacity is concerned; he is far more ready to reason for himself. The false ideas prevalent throughout the South in relation to the dignity or indignity of labor. have been done away with almost entirely, and I have met and can mention the names of planters' sons, who were esteemed to be worth millions before the war, who are not ashamed to perform duties they once considered as degrading, such as acting as overseers, clerks, etc., etc., even to the learning of mechanical trades. I have met men who have gone to work since the close

once owned their plantations and had many slaves. I believe they honestly accept and intend to abide by the emancipation of the negro. Many of them accept and intend to abide by the emancipation of the negro. Many of them speak of it as if a great load had been lifted off them. Their position in regard to slavery appears to be this: They felt that they needed the producing labor of the negro, and that under the slave code they were sure of it, in a high degree, while under a free-labor system, at the best, it could not be made available to such an extent for many years. Besides, they say they were born in this country, and found the blacks here, and even though slavery wight be mostly veryer set what could they do. By empression. ery might be morally wrong, yet what could they do? By emancipation they almost universally believe the inevitable destruction of the blacks is accomplished. According to their theory, the negro, if left to himself, will relapse into barbarism, and, as he cannot take care of himself, he will, in time, die out, even if his exit is not hastened by a war of races, which almost all regard as possible, and very many, perhaps the majority, as inevitable, They say that for the negro's sake, quite as much as for their own, they would have perpetuated the institution of slavery. Many of them, while perfectly willing to admit that it degraded the white man, assert that it brought the negro higher in the social scale than he ever could have other-wise attained. These say that in emancipating the negro the North has wise attained. pronounced his death-warrant, and that his blood must be on the head of those who accomplished his destruction. They are all anxious to supply their places with white labor.

any grand colonization project should be started, the Southerners would all favor it, as they say now all they wish is "to get shet of them;" that is, to get them out of the country. But while I am able to say that they have made up their minds that emancipation is a fact, and not to be avoided, I am obliged to state my earnest opinion that so far as secession is concerned—that is, the doctrine of State rights—it is more deeply rooted than ever among them. They are perfectly united in the belief that the division of this country is both right from a moral stand-point, and politic as a measure of expediency. They have simply changed their base from the battle-field to the ballot-box, believing, as they very frankly admit, that greater triumphs await them there than they could ever hope for in the field. In almost every house hangs the old, worn Confederate uniform, which is displayed with pride and satisfaction to all comers. So far from repenting of the stand they took, they glory in it. They regret the result and their the stand they took, they glory in it. They regret the result and their non-success, it is true, but not one in a thousand will admit they were in the

Many profess to deplore the policy their leaders saw fit to adopt ; in fact, almost all take exceptions to it in whole or in part, ascribing their failure to this or that measure having, or not having, been adopted; but so far as my experience extends none attack the principles they professed. A favorite idea with them is, that if they had not set up a new government, but fought for their rights under the old flag, making the revolution a national one, they would have succeeded at once, and could then have reconstructed the

Union to suit themselves.

They have returned, as they themselves take ever, very ing, because they had to, not because they wished to. Ask almost any man here if he believes he would be better off out of the Union than in it, and here is superised at the question. "Of course they would be better off." he is surprised at the question. "Of course they would be bett They return under compulsion, and desire it to be so understood. position is precisely this—they coincide with their military leaders, who believed, as a choice of evils, it was better to return to the Union than to continue the war. The only concession they are willing sincerely to make is that of slavery, which they see has been ground out of existence by the It was a measure of policy that induced them to give up, not a convicwar. It was a measure of poincy that induced them to give up to the first of duty. They are angry with Jefferson Davis, because he did not accede to Lincoln's terms at Fortress Monroe. They argue that at least ninety-five in every two hundred votes at the North are sure to be thrown in their favor, and they can now rule the Union by giving up, which is cheaper than to persist in their idea of a separate government. That idea, however, is layor, and they can now rule the Union by giving up, which is cheaper than to persist in their idea of a separate government. That idea, however, is only laid aside for a time. Every boy at the South is being educated in the belief that the relations the South to-day sustains toward the North, are the same as those of Hungary or Venetia toward Austria, or of Poland to Russia. They bide their time. They have adopted for their motto "Patience and shuffle the cards." The snake, so far from being killed, is barely "scotched." Meantime, they deem it better to rule in the Union than to serve in the Confederate army.

As Hamilear made Hannibal swear eternal enmity against old Rome, As Hamilear made Hannibal swear eternal enmity against old Rome, so every Southern matron is bringing up her children to hate and despise the Federal Union. The abolition of slavery is but an incident to them, a part of the price they have to pay; the idea of a separate and independent nationality is deeply rooted in the Southern heart. It is strongest among the youngest. You need not expect to see the Fourth of July celebrated in this portion of the country. Their preachers are among the most persistent, and all the influence of the pulpit is on the side of disunion. Their professors second their efforts from their colleges and seminaries. How long this will continue it is difficult to say: but it does not look as though it this will continue it is difficult to say; but it does not look as though it would die out in a day. I will write more on this subject in a few days.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

NEW ORLEANS, October 2, 1865.

DEAR SIR: In my letters to you I have given it as my opinion that the DEAR SIR: In my letters to you I have given it as my opinion that the South have made up their minds to accept the emancipation of the blacks as a fait accomptl, as something that is done and cannot be undone. It may well appear, however, that many of their arguments and resolutions would seem to squint at the re-establishment of slavery. Thus, when they d ny that the President possessed the constitutional right to issue his proclamation of emancipation (and that being the case, his decrees upon the subject are not binding and of no effect), it would be quite reasonable and natural to approach that they show they they they they that they are that they are that they are that they are the show that they show they they they they are that they are the shown they are the shown that they are the shown the shown they are the shown the shown they are the shown the sh suppose that they drew the inference that slavery still exists of right; but

there is another explanation to this: The whole South is in league to obtain slavery was and is right, but has been abolished by the war. The South-

This is what prevents Kentucky from adopting the Constitutional Amendment, and this is the secret of all their speeches and resolves. As to the fact itself, it is indisputable. Slavery is dead, and nothing less than a miracle itself, it is indisputable. Slavery is dead, and nothing less than a miracle could re-establish it. If the North, however, has any fears upon the subject, they have only to muster out the black troops and send them South, and, my word for it, there will be much more danger of the blacks enslaving the whites in these cotton States, than of the opposite. The South to-day so far mistake the situation as to suppose that, by pretending to believe the insti-tution not yet defunct, and that it is still possible to revive it, they can frighten the Northern people into compensation for emancipation. They are confirmed in this idea by the action of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. I have heard many a Southern man bitterly accuse Jefferson Davis of neglecting to accept the terms Lincoln offered at Fortress Monroe, and when I asked what those terms were, they answered: "Gradual emancipation and payment to be made to the owners of slaves." When I said the whole South was in league, I should have said, the whole body of slave-owners. Those who did not own slaves, however, are still the ready tools and accomplices

of those who did.

The devotion of the Southern people to, and their belief in, the reigning class, can hardly be exaggerated. It is my firm belief that if either General Lee or Wade Hampton should raise the standard of revolt to-morrow, thousands upon thousands would flock to their support. Not that there is the slightest reason to suspect such a movement. On the contrary, the Southern people have made up their minds not to do any more fighting if they can possibly help it; but they have that confidence in the individuals I have mentioned that they would waive their own opinions in a moment. This does not extend to their prominent political men, most of whom are distrusted, and some hated as badly as "the Yankees." As to their affection for their military leaders, you will find proof in the ections at Richmond and South Carolina. No man has a better claim to their sympathy, and none stand a better chance of election, than those who were the last to give up. Motives of policy may induce them to nominate others, but the fact remains as I have stated. I repeat, that General Lee and Wade Hampton are the two most popular and best loved men in the South to-day. I have are the two most popular and best loved men in the South to-day. I have heard but one disparaging remark made of General Lee since I was at the South, and that was in this connection: I was riding one night in a hack across the gap in a railway, made by Wilson, and, as usual, the conversation turned on political affairs and the condition and prospects of the Southern people. One man said that General Lee stood the best chance for the next Presidency,—by the way, that is a very prevalent idea here at the South,—when another remarked that he would rather have Andrew Johnson. I was curious to know why, and enquired. He replied that "he had but little confidence in Lee since he favored negro soldiers, and in his opinion he was not much better than a Black Republican."

The old proverb, you see, holds good with this people, and these "men convinced against their will, are of the same opinion still."

In my next letter I will try and indicate what I believe to be the policy of the Southern leaders, and what objects they are trying to achieve. I will mention here, however, that Southern people can scarcely credit the possi-

mention here, however, that Southern people can scarcely credit the possibility of their representatives being refused admittance to Congress, and as to negro suffrage, they will never give their consent to it. The planters might, but the prejudice among the middle and poorer classes is too great for them to encounter, and, at the best, they will only remain passive.

I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, yours,

NEW ORLEANS, October 4, 1865.

DEAR SIR: The Southern people, it appears to me, are, and have been, far more in the habit of implicitly trusting their political leaders, than the people of the North. They are less disposed to criticize the actions of those in authority until the event has proved them right or wrong. This results, no doubt, in a great degree, from the fact that their periodical literature (newspapers, etc.) is far inferior in amount of distribution to that at the North. It is no uncommon thing here for men of cultivation and refinement to permit weeks to pass without taking up a newspaper. I mention this fact because weeks to pass without taking up a newspaper. I mention this fact because I am fully persuaded that the disposition of the Southern people is to be affected permanently by the way their former leaders are streated by the North. For instance, it would be the worst possible policy to hang or otherwise severely punish Jefferson Davis. To-day there is a strong feeling at the South against the man. They claim that by his self-will and obstinacy he has done more to injure the Confederate cause than any ten of their antagonists; now, if he is punished, he will as surely be canonized by the South as a martyr, as he will be for ever disliked by them if permitted to go free The quickest and surest and only way to conciliate the South, if it be their good-will that is sought, is to hold out such inducements to the leaders they still confide in, as shall cause them to represent to the Southern people that it is for their interest to accept the statu quo. The Southern people can be reached quickest through the medium of such men as R. E. Lee and Wade Hampton.

At present every one at the South is occupied in his personal and family interests. There are no political parties; very little coherence of opinion as to the policy best to be pursued. But I find among the knowing ones, particularly those who have been on to the North, and remained some time in New York or Washington, a sanguine belief that they can easily resume the reins of office, and these men are the only Unionists in the South to-day. You can depend upon it that the Southern States in the future will present one solid, unanimous front. Their leaders have them well in hand, and this is precisely what ninety-nine in every hundred of the men, women, and children believe sincerely as to the situation to-day: first, that the South of right possesses and always possessed the right of secession; secondly, that he war only proved that the North was the strongest, thirdly, that negro

slavery was and is right, but has been abolished by the war. The Southerners are too smart not to see that slavery is dead, but many of them hope as long as the black race exists here to be able to hold it in a condition of practical serfdom. All expect the negro will be killed in one way or another by emancipation. The policy of those who will eventually become the leaders here at the South is, for the present, to accept the best they can get, to acquiesce in anything and everything, but to strain every nerve to regain the political power and ascendency they held under Buchanan. This they believe cannot be postponed longer than up to the next Presidential election. They will do all in their power to resist negro suffrage, to reduce taxiation and expenditures, and would attack the national debt if they saw any reason to believe repudiation possible. They will continue to assert the inferiority of the African, and they would to-day, if possible, precipitate the United States into a foreign war, believing they could then re-assert and obtain their independence. They will, most of them, take any oaths you may cause to be adopted, and break them immediately, and without scruple. In one word, this people have placed themselves in resolute antagonism to the North, and this generation, at least, will always hate the Northern peop'e, while the boys are being educated to the same idea. They will never, however, appeal to arms again, unless in the event of a division as of a foreign war. They are bound now, as before, to rule or ruin, and in the late of the same idea. They are bound now, as before, to rule or ruin, and in the late of the late o of a foreign war. They are bound now, as before, to rule or ruin, and if admitted to political power you will find out that what I write is true. The only way to make *Union* men of them is to appeal to their interests. Their sympathics are all one way, and they nearly all believe that the disintegration of this nation is accomplished already, and that the bonds that hold it together will soon snap apart from their own weight.

On the whole, looking at the affair from all sides, it amounts to just this:

If the Northern people are content to be ruled over by the Southerners, they will continue in the Union; if not, the first chance they get they will rise

I am, very respectfully, yours,

THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

RALEIGH, N. C., Oct. 16, 1865.

THE North Carolina State Convention met at Raleigh, in the hall of the House of Commons, on the morning of Monday, the second of October, and, with praiseworthy despatch, in the course of six days performed all the work which they considered of paramount importance-annulled the secession ordinance of May 20, 1861, and, by a unanimous vote, passed an ordinance for ever prohibiting slavery within the State.

During the first two days nothing of interest took place, and there was little for the visitor to do but look about him. Like every other public structure-road, railroad, court-house, bridge, church-that I have seen in the South, the appearance of the capitol showed that for some years only necessary things have been done. Its paint is stained and dingy, the gilding is tarnished, and there is need of new furniture. The Commons Hall is a large square room with a semi-circular gallery on three sides, and a lofty dome-shaped ceiling, from which a chandelier depends. The seats of the members are disposed in the shape of a fan before the Speaker's chair, and the space behind them, beneath the gallery, at the sides and corners of the room, is called the lobby.

Against the wall on the right of the Speaker's chair hangs a full-length ortrait of Washington, the only ornament of the hall. There is also a bronze statue of Washington in the capitol yard, the pedestal of which bears the initial letters G. W., A. L., and the inscription, "The saviours of their country." The festoons of mourning drapery are slipping from their fastenings, and some of the black cloth lies upon the ground.

The convention was a more imposing body than I had been expecting to see; for I had been assured by many gentlemen in the western counties that the members elect were all, as a matter of course, Union men; that most of them were, therefore, persons of little property and of no social stand. ing; that the better class of people throughout the State had refrained from voting, and that, in point of ability, the convention would be the weakest ver assembled in North Carolina. A majority of the members wore the appearance of elderly farmers neither very wealthy nor very well educated. One delegate, for instance, said in private conversation: "What do you mean by pro-slavery and anti-slavery? I've always heard those two words, but I was always afraid to make use of 'em, for I did n't feel sure I should get 'em right." Many of them, I dare say, are unintelligent as well as uneducated; narrow-minded men, without the habit of thinking and dominated by illiberal prejudices. One of them said to me the other evening:

"The niggers are having a convention, a'n't they? What do they want? Equal rights, I suppose. How do they talk, anyhow? Going to vote, be they?

"They do n't say much about voting. Their address is very moderate

think the convention will do in reference to that; grant it?"

"No, sir; they won't get that. It would n't do at all. No, sir."

"They say they must work for you, and make contracts with you, in order to live, and that nothing will be more frequent than disputes about

"If I make a contract with a nigger, I want it to bind me just as much as him and him just as much as me. I don't want anything but justice, up to my agreement."

"But I suppose you know some men in your own neighborhood that won't live up to their contracts unless you go to law and make them-men that will only be just when justice is extorted from them."

Yes, he said, he knew men like that, and he proceeded to give me some instances, to which I listened, and then asked him what a negro could do in such a case as that he had detailed.

"I don't know," he replied; "don't know. That was a bad case."

"Why, you'll have to let the negro give testimony, and so, as far as that

"Oh no," he repeated; "oh no; that won't do. The people won't have niggers giving evidence. They'll never get that. The people won't have it;" officers, the delegates were, as a rule, exceedingly respectful; there was no reported, rules should be dispensed with. personal crimination and recrimination, and, I besieve, it was not found necessary to call any member to order for words spoken in debate.

No one man was the acknowledged master and leader of the convention, as tions and interests of the State, might very likely have been the case had William A. Graham received his who is now an inmate of the State lunatic asylum, was frequently mentioned with regret, and reference was repeatedly made to him as "that great light." But there were about fifteen men who seemed to think themselves entitled to tee reported an ordinance drawn up in these terms: prominence in debate and the management of business, and of these perhaps four or five were evidently persons not ill-fitted to act as leaders.

The head of the secessionists was Mr. Manly, of Craven County. The doctrines of Calhoun, he said, were not yet devoid of value and utility; they were antagonistic to the principles of centralization, so dangerous and now so much in vogue, and he was still a believer in them as he had been in withstanding the supposed ordinance of the 20th day of May, 1861, declaring 1861. Mr. Manly is tall and spare, and speaks in a low voice, as if he were feeble and easily fatigued. Almost always when he spoke his face was turned towards the floor, and his chin rested upon his chest. His eyes, too, would cast a quick glance around him as if to watch the effect of his words. happen that he became a member of the Legislature during the rebellion I Smith withdrew his motion, and the convention soon afterwards adjourned.

in its tone, but they ask for the right to testify in the courts. What do you in Salisbury, his place of residence, he must be pronounced to have been an honest and outspoken Unionist. He is a small, gray-haired gentleman, apparently not far from seventy years old, fastidiously neat in his dress. He is a tolerably good speaker. Mr. Bedford Brown, of Caswell, is also an old man, with very suave, agreeable voice and manner. He was a senator from North Carolina about twenty-five years ago, and was a prominent member of the convention of 1861. In this convention, so far as sides were taken, he occupied a middle position between the perfectly uncompromising Unionism and the contract ought to be fair for the nigger and fair for me, and I'd live of Mr. Boyden and the secessionism of Mr. Manly. Besides these three men, there were Mr. Pool, whom many speak of as the ablest man in the State ; Mr. Warren, of Beaufort, one of Gov. Holden's provisional judges, who made the best speech that the convention has yet heard; and Mr. Moore, of Wake, whose abilities are, perhaps, fitter to shine in a committee room or a court of law than in a legislative and political assembly, but whose keenness, pugnacity, and talent for detail made him powerful in debate.

The first day of the session was spent in perfecting the organization of the convention, with reference to which there was no contest whatever, but even thus early it became evident that there were present two parties which will enable him, protect himself against such rascality and violence as you cherished different recollections of the past, if not different purposes in the future. The delegates had come forward to the secretary's desk, and, kissing the Bible, had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States. Mr. E. G. Reade had been made permanent president of the convention withand these remarks served him as an answer to all my arguments. But a good out opposition, and had read a brief speech expressive of the desire of North majority of the delegates seemed superior to the men of this stamp, and at Carolina to return to the Union: "Fellow-citizens," he said, "we are going least would have been able to find some reasons of some sort with which to home. Let painful reflections upon our late separation and pleasant memor fortify themselves in their prejudices. The spectator of its deliberations les of our early Union quicken our footsteps toward the old mansion, that could not but conceive a favorable opinion of the ability of the convention we may grasp hard again the hand of Friendship, who stands at the door, as well as of its dignity and decorum. And though there were some little and, sheltered by the old homestead, which was built upon a rock and has instances of indecorum, which, in a Northern assemblage of similar char-weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us." acter, would have provoked animadversion or laughter, the dignified grav- Various subordinate officers had been chosen, and then Mr. Mebane moved ity of the convention remained quite undisturbed. For example, Mr. Giles that a committee of seven be appointed to frame rules for the government Mebane, of Alamance, an elderly farmer in snuff-colored clothes, rises to ad- of the convention. Mr. Manly off-red an amendment to the effect that, until dress the house, and, during the delivery of his sensible remarks, holds gin. Mr. Mebane's committee should report, the rules prepared for the convention gerly between his finger and thumb a quid of tobacco taken from his mouth, of 1861 be adopted as rules of order for the present convention. Mr. King a proceeding which leaves his speech unimpeded, though it perhaps takes at once moved as an amendment to Mr. Manly's amendment that, instead of away something from the freedom and energy of his gesticulation. On anothe rules of 1861, the rules of the Constitutional Convention of 1835 be other day, Mr. Pool, the member from Bertie, leaving his seat, draws a chair adopted. Mr. Mebane thought it quite immaterial which set of rules were into a convenient position in the lobby, and smokes a long-stemmed pipe selected for temporary use, but a delegate immediately informed him that, within a few feet of the President, and in full view of the convention. At though there might be no great difference in the rales, there was a very tracted by the scent of tobacco, Mr. Caldwell, of Guilford, also retires to the great difference between the two years and between the action of the State lobby, and, filling up a pipe with a still longer stem, takes a seat beside Mr at those two periods. It would be just as well to forget 1861. After this Pool, and, by expressive signs, not to disturb the orator of the moment, begs little ripple on the surface everything was quiet again, and the convention of him a little fire or a match. In their behavior to each other and to their at once decided that the committee should be appointed, and that, until they

> On the second day a message was received from Governor Holden, who laid before the Convention several documents relative to the public institu-

Several committees were then appointed, among others a committee on pardon, or had Mr. Badger been a delegate. The absence of Mr Badger, the secession ordinance of May 20, 1861, with Mr. Boyden as chairman, and a committee on the abolition of slavery.

On the third day, rather sooner than was expected, Mr. Boyden's commit-

"Be it declared and ordained by the delegates of the good people of the State of North Carolina in convention assembled, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance of the Convention of the State of North Carolina, ratified on the 21st day of November, 1789, which adopted and ratified the Constitution of the United States, is now, and at all times since the adoption and ratification thereof, hath been in full force and effect, notthat the same be repealed, rescinded, and abrogated, and the said supposed ordinance is now, and at all times hath been, null and void.

The clerk read it amid the attentive silence of the house, and immediwere half closed, but now and then as he listlessly let fall a sentence he ately Mr. Smith, of Johnson County-" High Smith, of Low Johnson," as he has been called, in reference to the ignorance of his constituents and his own The chairman of the committee to report on the ordinance of secession was stature-moved that the ordinance be at once put upon its several readings. Mr. Nathaniel Boyden, of Rowan. He is a Massachusetts man by birth, a It was a rule of the convention that all resolutions and ordinances should very well known lawyer, and once a representative in Congress. His Union-lie over one day before coming up for consideration. Mr. Manly hoped that ism is something more than a mere intellectual dissent from the doctrine of the rules would not be suspended nor the ordinance passed hastily. In mat-State sovereignty, which is a common, and perhaps the purest, form that ters of so great consequence the maturest deliberation was requisite. He Unionism assumes among native North Carolinians, and it is a great deal objected to the phraseology of the ordinance as reported, and intended on more than a mere hatred of secessionists, which is the type of Unionism that the following day to introduce a substitute. He would, therefore, move that I have found most prevalent even in such counties as Randolph. In him it the motion to suspend the rules be laid on the table. As this motion, if sucis a warm sentiment of loyalty and affection for his country. How it could cessful, would have also carried the ordinance itself to the table, Mr.

am unable to explain. From all that I have heard of him, both here and On Thursday morning Governor Holden transmitted to the convention

the address of the colored people of the State, with a recommendation that would have cheerfully accepted his freedom. But he did blame them for it be referred to a committee. The clerk read the address, which was received their bad conduct since they were emancipated. He wanted a carefully prerespectfully though not with particular attention, for it had already been published in the newspapers. Two or three members of the colored convention were in the gallery watching the fate of their address, and many significant glances were sent in that direction from the body of the house, one delegate calling the attention of another to the presence of the negroes. Mr. Caldwell, of Guilford, rose and spoke substantially as follows:

"Mr. President, I endorse the proposition of Governor Holden. I hope the time has come when the situation of these people will receive honest and careful consideration. The time has been, sir, when I have been denounced as an abolitionist—an abolitionist from the Massachusetts of North Carolina. Well, sir, I have always had my own opinions on the subject of slavery; I had them in times past and I have them now. I earnestly desire to see the condition of the negroes improved all it can be. We all know that it needs improvement, and all our best efforts will be taxed to prevent the misery and trouble that may come upon them. We can see that they got an idea of running into the towns and trying to pick up a living by a little boot-blacking and a little white-washing. That course of life will not support them, and I am strongly in favor of wise action to prevent these evils idleness and flocking out of the country into the towns. For my part, I want to see them sifted and scattered all over the country, not only over the South but over the North, up to the Canada line, till every Northern State, south but over the North, up to the Canada line, the every Northern State, as well as we down in the South, shall be helping to bear this great black burden of humanity. Then I should go in for North Carolina's treating them as well as they can be treated everywhere, and allowing them as many privileges as Connecticut or any other Northern State."

The allusion to the Connecticut election, news of which had just reached Raleigh, was made and received with a smile. The President appointed a committee of five, with Mr. Pool at its head, to take the address into considcration, and they some days afterwards reported it inexpedient for this convention to engage itself with a question so complicated and difficult as that of the relations to be established between the blacks and the whites, and recommending that a board of three commissioners be appointed by the Governor to collect information relative to the matter and lay it before the Legislature at its next session. The report was fair and liberal in its tone, but commits the convention to nothing.

I refrain from any further attempt at a diary of the proceedings, especially since the results have doubtless already been published at the North. I may allude, however, to the warm debate which sprang up upon the question of submitting these two ordinances to the people for ratification. The Unionists were determined that slavery and secession by name, should come before the people for final and definitive judgment. They carried their point, and the people are to vote on each ordinance separately, ratifying it or rejecting it.

In the long debate on secession, much was said in condemnation of that theory: the loss which it had inflicted on the South was bewailed and the tyranny of the secessionists and the rebel government was denounced with bitterness. But it was roundly said that this renunciation of secessionism and its works, of itself, entitled North Carolina to her old place and power in the Union. One had to remind himself that the convention itself was an acknowledgment that the State had lost some of her rights and privileges.

The discussion of the basis of representation, the reading of the address presented by the colored convention, the report of the committee to which it had been referred, and the passage of the abolition ordinance, had all alike failed to bring up the freedmen as a topic of discussion. But an ordi nance introduced by Mr. Moore, of Wake, contained, among some miscellan eous matters, a section which declared married all negroes who for six months previously to the ratification of the ordinance, and at the time of its ratification, should be living together as man and wife. Mr. Moore fought hard for his proposition, and Colonel Whittlesey, assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina, was in the lobby, and was understood to favor it and to desire its passage, but a large majority of the convention were opposed to taking any action whatever in relation to the condition of the negro population. It would be better to leave the whole matter to the Legislature. Mr. Dockery, of Richmond County, took occa sion to state what he knew about the freed people in his part of the State and to set forth his views of the proper policy to be pursued towards them by the national Government.

He was a friend to the negro. He could remember how he loved his old nurse, and his children now loved their negro nurse so that often they would leave the arms of their mother to go to her. But he had little confidence in the elevation of the negro race. It was true that they were in a condition of demoralization-poor, degraded, and unfortunate-and it would be well to lift them up if possible; but it could not be done by such action are making a pacific and timid crusade against centralization. When I tell as Mr. Moore proposed. He felt a real attachment to the negroes-many of you that such men as M. Laboulaye, who has all along been the supporter them-and had often told them that he did not blame them for being free. of the Republican party in America, declare themselves openly in France

pared code regulating the conduct of the blacks, or they would become a disgrace and a danger to the community. But he believed that the only effective and satisfactory policy which could be adopted was that which General Jackson had pursued towards the Indians-they must be colonized. The Government owned plenty of land in the South-west, and the negroes ought to be separated from the whites and sent into that region by

When General Jackson decided to move the Indians, there was a great outcry about the inhumanity of his policy. It was cruel, they said, to tear the poor Indian from his hunting-grounds, and his springs, and the graveyards of his fathers. But General Jackson removed them, and where was the man who would to-day deny the soundness of that measure? Where was the man to say it was inhuman? Who supposed a single Indian would now be alive in Georgia or South Carolina or North Carolina if they had been left among the whites? It was just so with the negroes, and he believed it would soon be found so, and the people would decide upon colonization. Mr. Moore's ordinance had two objects in contemplation, the moral elevation of the negro by compelling him to marry the woman with whom he chose to live; and a material object-to make each negro support his own children. But the ordinance would not bring about the desired end. The negroes are determined to have as many wives as they can get. He himself had a nigger with two wives, one of whom he called his Sunday wife and the other his Monday wife; and he was rejoicing in his freedom because he could now get a third wife as soon as he could get a little more money. He had it from a gentleman of undoubted veracity that within a very short time pre viously there had been seventy marriages of negroes, and, of these seventy, sixty-five had within a week left other wives or husbands to take new ones. As to their working habits, the story was equally bad. He was paying his own niggers \$6 a month, but they were getting dissatisfied. There was a constant stream of niggers coming along past his house, some from Raleigh, some from Greensboro' or Salisbury. Perhaps he would become aware that work had stopped in the blacksmith's shop; he would inquire the cause: "Oh, Mr. Smith's Jack or Tom has come back from Raleigh." He tells them that niggers are getting \$20 a month up here, and the result is that the niggers all become discontented, and the able-bodied men wander off, leaving their wives and children on the farms. The Pedee country was a poor country anyhow, and all had to work, both white and black, or the farmers could not make buckle and tongue meet. Gentlemen might imagine what the condition of things would be with half the population wandering in idleness. It would be like an army without a leader, resolved into a mob; famine would overtake it. Colonization was the only remedy for such evils.

Mr. Little also favored a reference to a committee who should report to the next Legislature. He was a friend of the negro, but he wanted to be put on record as a believer in the doctrine that this is a white man's country and a white man's government. He was opposed to negro suffrage, negro testimony, miscegenation, and other articles of the radical faith. He was glad to see that such doctrines had been repudiated at the North, he said, and praised General J. D. Cox, formerly of Sherman's army, as a man of sound opinions. He thought there were some people who entertained unjust prejudices against the negro. He was not one, but would like to see them devated and would not be averse to their being educated. North Carolina, unfortunately, was not able to educate her white children at present, but in time he hoped to see her educate the black.

The convention having passed an ordinance setting an early day in November for the election of members of the State Legislature, many of the delegates are anxious to return home and meet their constituents, so that it is probable that the convention will soon adjourn. But for some reason it seems to be thought best that another session should be held in the spring. Most likely no definite action will be taken upon the war debt or the condition of the freedmen until it can be known whether or not North Carolina will be admitted by Congress when she makes application, this winter, holding in her hand the ordinance abolishing slavery and that which declares that the State has never been out of the Union at all.

CENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE.

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

WHILE you are waging war against State rights, the Liberals in France If he had been enslaved and freed by war in the same way, he himself against centralization, you will understand at once that there is no real contradiction between the ideas and theories of your Republican party and those of the French Liberals. The difference of position explains the difference of policies. With you, a movement towards centralization of power was necessary, as the Democratic party, during its long triumph, had withheld from the Executive many of the prerogatives with which the Constitution had endowed it. In France, the Executive has been rendered so tyrannical, arbitrary, and all-powerful, that a reaction is taking place against the political system which, from the days of Richelieu and Louis XIV. to those of Napoleon III., has been the means of depriving France of all the benefits of self-government.

It is hardly possible for an American, born and educated in a free community, to imagine to what extent the individuality of a French citizen is daily sacrificed to the petty exigencies of that anonymous, omnipresent, hydra-headed monster which we call "l'administration." We are born, we live, we die, with its permission; it measures to our lungs the air we breathe; it shapes the plastic molds in which the infant intellect is formed. Where will you not find a mark of its power-in what church, what school, what house, what cemetery, what office, what theatre, what hospital? Wherever and whenever two Frenchmen meet, it comes and shows itself between them. It outlives every régime, every revolution, every government. It stamps upon every head a mark which nothing can efface.

I once heard M. de Montalembert illustrate, by an amusing anecdote, the power of the French administration. Three days after the formidable insurrection of June, 1848, he found himself in a railway station, waiting in a great crowd till the officials should open the doors which lead to the platform. The heat was intense. "Could I not," said he, "open one of these glass doors to let some air in?" "No, sir; it is against the réglement." "Well," said he, "could I not break one of the windows, and pay for it?" When he uttered this proposition, the crowd moved away from him, and everybody looked almost terrified. They took him for an insurgent. The idea of breaking a window in order to evade a reglement of the administration seemed awful to these people, who three days before had witnessed a bloody and fierce insurrection, and seen Paris all covered over with barri-

I remember another curious illustration of the power of the French centralization. A minister of public instruction, looking at his watch, said, one day: "At this moment all the boys of the French kingdom, of the same age, are translating the same Latin version, in Corsica as well as in Picardy, at Brest as well as in Strasbourg." I leave you to imagine the intense pride he felt when this vision came across his brain.

The French functionary is by essence an enemy of liberal institutions; his pride and conceit, his quiet and undisturbed tyranny, have almost reconciled me to the American theory of rotation of office. May you ever be ignorant of the genus functionary and the species bureaucrate. Your functionaries, who have such a short tenure of office, do not form a separate caste : the French functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, are protected by the famous article of the Constitution de l'an VIII., which specifies that none of them can be prosecuted before any court by any individual without the permission of the Council of State, a large committee, appointed directly by the Executive, and entirely devoted to its interests. I will take an example: The Duke d'Aumale has been working for the last twelve years at a history of the House of Condé. He has used in his work the valuable archives which he has inherited from the Condés, together with the state papers of England and of Spain. Two volumes of this important work were already printed in France, relating to the wars of religion before Henri IV., when the Préfet de Police seized the four thousand copies of the two volumes just finished at the printer's office. The Duke d'Aumale has vainly claimed his property before the common courts; the courts, one after the other, have declared that the Prefect of Police was covered by his public character. The d'Etat, and it is not difficult to prophesy what the verdict of this political body will be.

The same inviolability covers the meanest officials all over France; this privilege, together with the excessive centralization, make it too easy to turn any government in France into a despotism. Had General Cavaignac been less honest, he could have secured the power to himself as well as Prince Louis Napoleon. The new French Liberal school begins to perceive that all efforts towards liberty and constitutional government will be vain if we don't reduce the privileges of the central power by diminishing those

should name the prifet in each department, as you name your governors in each State. They simply ask that the Conseils-généraux, which are named by the people in each department, and who now have only a session of eight days, and simply register, as it were, the will of the prefet, should have longer sessions, and should name a standing committee which should constantly act as a counsel to the prefet. This moderate proposition has almost convulsed our political world. A free, elected council in each department! that would be, indeed, the abomination of desolation. And what would be, come of our Parisian prifet, in his gilt uniform, among these provincial counsellors, if he could no more say to them, with a Louis XIV. gesture and air, "Le département, c'est moi." As every German prince copied Louis XIV. in the seventeenth century, and would have his Versailles, so every prefet now gives himself the airs of Napoleon III.; each of them has gained the Solferino battle, and saved France from anarchy. If they are no more to be the absolute rulers in each department, if the solitary will which from the Tuileries radiates through their eighty-six brains to all the parts of France has to find local obstacles in every department, there is an end of that great French unity, and we are brought back at once to the dark days of feudalism. Such is the cry of all Imperialists and pseudo-Liberals; louder than all are the friends of Prince Napoleon, the worshipper of pure Cæsarism, who, as Ampère used to say, will some day, if fortune favors him, show us Tiberius after Augustus.

The true Liberals have no difficulty in showing that French unity has nothing to fear from a better administration of local affairs; to talk of feudalism in France in 1865 is so absurd as to be simply ridiculous. What we are afraid of is not feudalism; it is this terrible alliance of demagogism and despotism which was once fatal to Rome, and may be fatal to France; this jealousy of influence, this hatred of intellect, this fear of free thought, which are at the bottom of our ruling school of imperial democracy.

This discussion about centralization, originated by the pamphlet lorrain, has had very good effects; it has drawn the line between the sham democracy, which is the servile ally of imperialism, and liberal democracy-be, tween the hypocrites and the sincere friends of the people; it has obliged many to throw off the mask and to show what they really are. Humboldt used to say: "I prefer anarchy or a brutal despotism to an intelligent despotism; for anarchy is not a durable state, and a stupid despotism destroys itself; an intelligent despotism can deceive a nation and even the whole world for ages." It is, therefore, a happy consequence of the present discussion that our worshippers of despotism have been obliged to pronounce themselves openly against the liberal and moderate proposition of the writers of Nancy. It will no longer be so easy for them to surround their servility with a halo of liberalism; they have paid to Casar what they owe to Casar, but they have not paid to the people what they owe to the people, and the people, I hope, will remember it.

THE SERVANT OUESTION.

MR. RUSKIN, in a recent lively discussion, through the columns of a London paper, upon the annoyances from servants, has informed the public that there are but two alternatives to adopt if they would settle the matterslavery or adoption." The ordinary "commercial relation" he regards a failure. America has tried all three modes of settling the problem-The South has had "domestic and patriarchal service," with what result must be apparent even to Mr. Ruskin. The West has tried (to a degree) a kind of "sonship" or adoption-the bringing up a servant in the familywith immense advantage to the servant, though not always an equal comfort to the family. But this primitive arrangement, which is undoubtedly as Mr. Ruskin says, the best for society, must gradually yield to the more Duke d'Aumale is therefore obliged to sue him now before the Conseil complicated demands of increasing comfort, and there, as in the whole country, the "commercial relation" take the principal place. There will be a kind of malignant satisfaction to our housekeepers in finding that prosperity is bringing to England something of the nameless troubles with "domestic service" which have so long been our affliction here. The effect of emigration, low tariffs, skilful finance, and unceasing industry, has been at length to raise the laboring class of England, so that their rate of wages has vastly increased. Wages in London are equal to those of New York. Servant-girls wear "silk mantillas" and "dress-bonnets," flowers and flounces. become extravagant and restless, and continually marry out of their class of the functionaries. A committee of Liberals, in Nancy, has just published into the next class above them, and the respectable level of the good old a pamphlet against centralization which has created much sensation. It is English class of house-servants is greatly disturbed. The immense and sudproposed in it that in each French department the management of the affairs den increase of wealth, also, the last few years has created a class of nouof the department should not be left entirely to a prefet named in Paris, ceaux riches, of "shouldy" mistresses, in Great Britain, such as we have here The authors of the pamphlet do not go so far as to propose that the people who do not know how to manage their servants, and thus "spoil" them, so

that English society is as full of that novel topic, the trials of servants, as or disabled, cast her aside; others "nag" their servants too much, or get into

of domestic service descend upon our households. In the autumn the somewhat irregular, dependent, and unambitious person to be willing to sacservant girl, who has already changed her place three or four times in rifice all privacy, independence, and chances of rising in the world, and labor the course of the year, conceives a new desire for society or change of on in the hap-hazard way which American households require. A servant scene, and at once departs, leaving the household in confusion. All in America is usually an inferior sort of person, morally considered, when that large class of families who live near cities, and who have experienced compared, for instance, with the class keeping their own homes. The work a problematical domestic calm up to this season, now find their san- is not hard, but it is exacting and entirely invades privacy, and is ill paid, guine hopes prostrated by a sudden exodus of their "help" to the townthese people, like their betters, enjoying rural scenery in the summer horror of domestic service. months and then preferring the social life and excitements of the cities in the winter. This flitting is prematurely hastened if sickness has attacked a causes of our troubles, we confess we see no cure for our annoyances, in the family, or its members are to be increased, as the profession understand that United States, in this matter. It is a relation which almost necessarily forthese trying or interesting occasions by no means lighten their labors. Then come to the master or mistress the agonies of the "intelligence" or "non intelligence" office: the ordeal of fifty severe-looking "girls" of all ages, the cross examination by the "help," the proud disdain with which a place is rejected if the chambermaid does not help the cook, or company cannot be seen every night, or the master wants breakfast for an early train. Finally, after endless worry, a promising person is secured by great humiliation; she is engaged to be on the boat or train; the employer proceeds trustingly to his home, and the promised hour comes and passes and no servant appears, and the family is again left cookless or waiterless. At length intelligence offices. A new office has been established in London, which is some emigrant is secured, more innocent in the ways of the New World, but with a tendency to mingle the habits of an Irish bothic with those of an American kitchen, and she has to go through with a long course of instruc- would be a great improvement. tion, the devoted mistress spending a large part of her time in the kitchen. As soon as she is fairly trained and is really useful, she has become initiated in the ways of the class, and, hearing of a better situation, coolly gives notice and leaves, or decamps without notice. The experience of the cities is perhaps not quite so afflicting, but nearly so-of "girls with airs;" girls who make fearful blunders in the midst of trying dinner-parties; girls who entertain a brilliant circle of friends in their kitchens, at the mistress's expense; girls who are dishonest and get drunk, and of all the change and discomfort which their riotous habits bring. The "commercial relation" does not seem always to reach them, as they will, not infrequently, with Nor do the miscalled "intelligence offices" afford the least remedy; they are such as none of them to be trusted. No one ever looks closely into the character of a servant recommended, or is responsible for her failure, or corrects one of the abuses of the whole system. They are in fact mainly supported by the

The great consolation to the mistress is rather a general and philanthropic than a personal one. Each lady must remember that for a considerable portion of her life she is at the head of a "Philanthropic Servants-Training School," where one rough and ignorant peasant woman after another is taught cleanliness, order, good taste, and good cooking, and is fitted to be the wife of some laborer, or policeman, or mechanic, or upperservant by-and-bye. Thousands of nice laboring-men's homes over the country are the fruits of the long and apparently useless torments of our mistresses. Our very evils also come from our blessings. It is our prosperity that makes the serving-class restless. It is the remuneration and profit of labor which render the "domestics" ambitious and extravagant. They are continually bettering or hoping to better their condition. There is little of such trouble with servants in Italy, still less in China. In England the annovances begin as the people improve in condition. We must philosophi cally take our troubles with our blessings.

Then another thing should be considered at the present time: servants' wages have by no means risen in proportion to the rise of all other values. They cost less, on the whole, than they do in England. house-servant (say chambermaid) can be got in New York for \$9 a month, or \$108 per annum, and her "keep" will be say \$150, making her total cost \$258. In London, in a middle-class family, wages would be £16 per annum, say \$162, and keep, including beer, £22 or \$224, making the total cost \$386. Yet here, owing to the tariff, all the personal expenses to the woman, for shoes, calicoes, silk mantillas, and dresses, are more than doubled since 1860, and heavier than similar outlays would be in England. Low wages will inevitably bring poor labor. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the annoyances are by no means on the side of the servants alone. The mistresses are not all perfect. Some are freaky, uncertain, and moody: others are exacting and imperious, fancying that a human being can work for them the year round and never want a human enjoyment, or the least variety; others are careless and indulgent. Some, the moment a girl is sick

a passion with them, instead of correcting them occasionally and carefully-This is especially the time of year in this country in which the plagues. Then, again, the relation itself is an unnatural and difficult one. It needs a For ourselves, we never wonder that American young women have such a

> Considering the inherent difficulties of the relation and the economical bids all sentiment; there can be no patriarchal character to it, and seldom even common personal attachment. What is wanted is, first, great consideration by the mistresses for the servants; then exactitude and thorough justice, and, if possible, liberal payment. The commercial basis is the basis for it. Ladies with large establishments and without children will, of course, have fewer of these troubles, as servants will all prefer such places, and will remain longer in them.

> All might avoid many of the difficulties now experienced by being more exact in demanding "characters," and by encouraging some better kind of supported solely by the mistresses, charging a higher price but being more particular in the kind of servants they recommend. Such an agency here

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Literature.

LITERARY NOTES.

Persons interested in Biblical studies will be glad to hear from a wellinformed source-Mr John Murray, the publisher-that "the commentary on the Bible, suggested by the Speaker (!) and inaugurated by the Archbishop of York and other bishops and divines, far from being abandoned, is making steady progress, some portions of the work being already in typethe scholars and divines engaged upon it having felt that a speedy publication was quite subordinate to the proper and thorough execution of so momentous a design." The motives that have led to this undertaking are undoubtedly laudable, and the results will be welcome to students of all orthodox denominations. Any attempt, however, to give it an official or authoritative value will be a great mistake, as the time when the largest individual liberty of opinion has been by legal decisions declared the characteristic of the Church of England would be very inappropriate for an BAYARD TAYLOR'S CYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN TRAVEL. A record of attempt to tie it down to any system or theory, however good, of scriptural interpretation. The effort to do this would provoke resistance and the unseemly marshalling of Bishop against Bishop, and D.D. against D.D., the very thing which the Church has always most judiciously avoided. The commentary thus "patronized by the Speaker of the House of Commons" will have just the degree of authority claimed by its merit, and no more.

> -Critics are already disputing about the text of Thackeray's famous ballad, "The Three Sailors," and grave correspondents are writing to "Notes and Queries" to know if the air to which he was accustomed to chant it. among friends, when certain small hours of the night had arrived, is preserved. As a curiosity we give it from his own uniquely beautiful MS., with the accompanying note. Mr. Bevan, to whom it was addressed, had written it down from memory when sung by the author at a students' supper at Rome, to print in a volume of travelling sketches called "Sand and Canvass." Thackeray was not satisfied with the rira roce copy, so sent the following:

THE THREE SAILORS.

There were three sailors in Bristol City, Who took a boat and went to sea.

But first with beef and Captain's biscuit, And pickled pork they loaded she,

There was guzzling Jack, and gorging Jimmy, And the youngest he was little Billy.

Now very soon, they were so greedy, They did n't leave not one split pea.

Says guzzling Jack to gorging Jimmy, "I am confounded hung-ery,"

Says gorging Jim to guzzling Jacky. "We have no wittles, so we must eat we."

Save guzzling Jack to gorging Jimmy, "O gorging Jim, what a fool you be-

There 's little Bill, as is young and tender, We 're old and tough, so let 's eat he.

O Bill we 're going to kill and eat you, So undo the collar of your chemee,"

When Bill he heard this information, He used his pocket handkerchee.

"O let me say my catechism, As my poor mammy taught to me."

"Make haste, make haste," savs guzzling Jacky, Whilst Jim pulled out his snickersnee.

So Bill went up the main-top-gallant-mast, Where down he fell on his bended knee.

He scarce had said his catechism, When up he jumps, "There's land I see:

There's Jerusalem and Madagascar, And North and South Amerikey,

There 's the British fleet a-riding at anchor, With Admiral Napier, K.C.B."

So when they came to the Admiral's vessel, He hanged first Jack and flogged Jimmy,

But as for little Bill, he made him The captain of a seventy-three,

" DEAR BEVAN

I do n't like the looks of the ballad at all in print, but, if you please, prefer to have it in this way, exactly. "Be blowed," it would never do in a printed ballad of Yours very truly, WM. M. THACKERAY."

-One of the most interesting announcements of the season has just press "A Life of Charles Lamb," by Mr. Proctor, better known as the poet Mr. Proctor's book goes over again the whole field of a life so lovingly doing. The papers of the same date give an extract from a letter to The in this country than in England. It is Americans who print the handsomrelics of Lamb, and who will be, we doubt not, the chief subscribers to the edged writings, is an undertaking that would hardly have been executed in England. Recently, in London, at the sale of the library of Mr. John Taycal. The inimitable "Roast Pig" brought £10, or fifty dollars. We believe that ten times this amount would readily be given by many of Lamb's admirers here. The scanty remains of Lamb's library that were brought to this country, whenever they change possessors, do so at a vastly increasing rate. It is worthy of notice, as characteristic of the two men, that while Coleridge could not read a book without his active mind overflowing in comments on the fly-leaves and margins, not a trace of an original note could be found in any of Charles Lamb's volumes. He was careful and painstaking in making them perfect by transcription and adding illustrative matter from other sources, but he seems to have respected his "ragged regiment" too much to make them the vehicle of his own thoughts. When any further collection of Lamb's writings is intended, application should be made to the autograph-hunters in America, as the disease rages strong among us, and many unpublished letters of Lamb are to be found in their portfolios. We remember one, very suggestive of the writer, describing an enforced stay at a quiet country town, in Mr. G. P. Putnam's collection, but are unable to trace it to its present owner.

-A new edition of "Pre-historic Man," by Professor D. Wilson, of Toposition in Canada has afforded him the means of effecting this, and his and is now in preparation. work has first introduced to general notice abroad the results now daily developing in aboriginal history and antiquities.

years ago, he stopped the work, and it has never been resumed. The quite a furore in the artistic world for the possession of his designs, and they

advantages that the circulation of a complete catalogue offers in making accessible the books it describes, and bringing the fact of their existence and local distribution to the knowledge of those who need them, are so obvious that no one but an idiot could dispute them; it is not, therefore, on the ground of principle, but rather on the difficulty of realizing an ideal except by the sacrifice of other desirable ends, that Mr. Panizzi's objections were based. The British Museum Library has, under his management, been increasing at an average rate of thirty thousand volumes per annum, until it has now reached nearly, if not quite, the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. By no plan of printing that might be adopted could the description of so vast a collection be finished in less than several years, starting from a given point, and in the meantime the "logic of facts" would have destroyed the completeness that was to form its chief value, added to which the immense cost involved in such an undertaking-with little prospect of been made by Messrs. Moxon & Co. It is that they are preparing for the return from any expected sale for the catalogue-might better be spent in increasing the library itself. The practical difficulties connected with the Barry Cornwall. No particulars are yet given, but we may be sure that if matter of catalogue printing on a very enlarged scale are so great that they appear to have foiled even the imperial will. A few years since, Louis treated by Talfourd, it is because the access of new matter and the freedom Napoleon gave orders for the publication of the catalogue of the French of discussion made attainable by lapse of time amply authorize him in so Imperial Library. Two separate divisions were hastily commenced—"History of France" and "Medicine." Seven or eight quarto volumes of the Guardian, written to call attention to the neglected state of the grave of first have appeared, and one of the latter. It is now said that the undertak-"Elia" and his sister, in Edmonton church-yard. The author describes it as ing is suspended indefinitely, and will only extend to the completion of these overshadowed by the solidly-built stone monument of "Gideon Rippon, divisions. In this country we have scarcely a good book catalogue of any of the Bank of England," trodden down, and partly covered with net-kind, a vicious desire for brevity making them mere unsatisfactory indexes tles. It is an unquestionable fact, and we note it simply as a fact, that to the collections that they should illustrate and describe. We have a good the popular appreciation of Charles Lamb has a far stronger and deeper root testimony as to what a catalogue should be from that great and thoroughly practical man, Franklin, in one that he printed in 1764 of the books of the est editions of Charles Lamb's works—who make pilgrimages to the old East Library Company of Philadelphia, the institution whose foundation and India House, the scene of his official labors—who collect most eagerly any progress is so fully detailed in his autobiography, and which never ceased to claim his interest and care. Various indications scattered throughout the monument it is now sought to erect on his uncared-for grave. Mr. Babson's volume show it to be of his own drawing up, and, in striking contrast to careful though incomplete "Eliana," or collection of Lamb's unacknowl- the present meagre fashion of curtailing the description of a book to a single line, every word on the title-page is given, so that in the fashion of the last century it often amounts to a synopsis of the work, and makes the catalor, the proprietor of the "London Magazine," were sold the original MSS. logue itself a volume at once instructive and pleasant to turn over. No one of several of the essays of Elia, which originally appeared in that periodi need dislain to learn of Franklin, and we hope in this respect he will yet

-The beautiful edition of the Chinese Classics undertaken by Dr. James Legge, of the London Missionary Society, through means furnished by private munificence, has reached its second volume. The first was devoted to the works of Confucius, the second introduces us to the writings of Mencius, a sage who, in the opinion of his nation, stands only second to his great master. Mencius was born B C. 371 and lived to the age of 84, so that his period synchronizes with the era of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and other great names of the West. In the words of his editor and translator: "When we place Mencius among his contemporaries he can look them in the face. He does not need to hide a diminished head." His doctrine of human nature was as nearly as possible, we are told, that of Bishop Butler. "The will (he said) is the leader of the passion nature. The passion nature pervades and ani mates the body. The will is first and chief, and the passion nature is subordinate to it. Man is formed only for virtue. There is in man a natural principle of benevolence, a natural principle of righteousness, a natural principle of propriety, and a natural principle of apprehending moral truth." The series of "Chinese Classics" is expected to form seven volumes. They ronto University, has just been brought out by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. are printed at Hong Kong, in large octavo, and include the original texts. As compared with other works on the subject, Professor Wilson's book is with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena by the editor, distinguished by the careful and extensive view taken of American ethno. and copious indexes. They are sold in London at the not unreasonable price logical researches, in which they are for the first time treated in connection of £2 2s. per volume, or about twenty dollars in currency at present rates. with similar investigations in other parts of the world. Prof. Wilson's The third volume will include the most ancient historical records of China.

-Like many other men of genius, the technical powers of the inspired artist William Blake were scarcely adequate to the proper rendering of his -The contemplated retirement of Mr. Antonio Panizzi from the chief own ideas. No series of his illustrations has ever appeared with the same librarianship of the British Museum will probably cause the revival of the advantages that his beautiful designs to "Blair's Grave" derive from the much disputed point—the expediency of a printed catalogue of that national masterly burin of Schiavonetti, confessedly the first engraver of the day. They collection of books. Of such a catalogue most literary men of the day have form an epitome of the unseen world, and for nobleness of expression, purity expressed their favorable opinion and anxious desire to see it completed, of line, and severely grand yet picturesque composition, they stand unequalparticularly Thomas Carlyle, J. P. Collier, Sir H. Nicolas, Rev. A. Dyce, led. We can only wonder that a generation saturated with the extravaand others known as students and persons of learned research. Neverthe-gances of Fuseli and the inanities of Westall as book illustrators, could less, the single influence of Mr. Panizzi has been able to neutralize the oppopass them by without recognition of their surpassing excellence. The pubsition, and after printing one volume, containing the letter A, twenty-five lication of Mr. Gilchrist's illustrated "Life and Works of Blake" has created

have lately advanced in value almost fifty-fold. To the enterprise of Mr. J. W. society and reduced the fair Quaker of former times to the condition of a Bouton, one of our best informed purveyors of European books, of 481 Broad-miserly old hag, unwilling to supply herself with the decencies of life. Mrs. way, American collectors are indebted for a limited opportunity to procure one Farrar's reminiscences include the names of many other characters that it of Blake's finest works, the "Illustrations to the Grave," already referred to. is difficult to imagine in actual contact with one yet among us, as Mrs. Bar-Mr. Bouton has just returned from a periodical "raid" or "foray" to Europe, not bauld, Mrs. Opie, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, Lord Nelson, and others undertaken in the interest of devastation, although he returns as richly laden who to ordinary experience have "gone far off and become historical." with the spoils of time as any practical free-trader of Sherman's army. During They are narrated in a style of simplicity that inspires confidence in their his visit to England Mr. Bouton was so fortunate as to secure the entire remain. revelations. ing copies of Blake's "Blair's Grave," comprising fine impressions of twelve illustrations, and the masterly portrait of Blake, by Phillips, which made him a Royal Academician. They consist only of sixty-seven copies in imperial quarto, and four on large paper in folio. Subscribers' names are taken at the very moderate price of fifteen dollars per copy, and thirty dollars fer the few in folio. They are to be delivered in November in the order of the names as received. Mr. Bouton's room will be found an attractive place of resort for lovers of art, his spécialité as a dealer lying largely among the splendid European illustrated books, galleries, etc., so rarely met with at our stores.

-We are always instructed in the superiority of the world of mind over that of matter, and partly realize it in our lives, but it appears as if the two must be brought in contact to reach their highest expression. The noblest and material causes and effects. They strike the mind with a force and grandeur that mere metaphysical speculation could never attain. Prof. instances of these most remarkable inferential results from observed phethe sidereal world ("nursery mothers of the stars") and its progress towards respectively. more perfect formation. The great telescope of Lord Rosse was supposed to have demolished the theory, as it resolved most of the nebulæ to which it some instances to have stellar points, but they are not stars. Their composition is shown to be entirely different; they resemble enormous masses of luminous gas, composed of three materials, nitrogen, hydrogen, and a subbe constituted like our own sun, and, like it, they exhibit the presence of many terrestial elements, as sodium, magnesium, iron, and hydrogen. The moon and Venus show no signs of an atmosphere, but Jupiter and Saturn have one like that of the earth, with the addition of some unknown body, probably a gas or vapor peculiar to those spheres. No one can grasp the bounds of space and time" of the poet, whose wildest imaginings scarcely reach to the sober certainties of the philosophers.

-It is always pleasant to meet with fresh notices of any of the members kind has been so often worked over by memoir and magazine writers that few and scanty additions to our stock of information now appear. We are indebted to Mrs. Farrar's agreeable "Recollections of Seventy Years," just published by Ticknor & Fields, for a closer acquaintance with one of the friends of her youth, Mrs. Knowles, the Quaker lady, whom all readers of "Boswell" will recall as meeting the doctor several times at Mr. Dilly's, and on one occasion engaging in an animated discussion with him on the subject of the occasion engaging in an animated discussion with him on the subject of the der figures . . . still carry with them too much of miniature painting conversion to Quakerism of a young lady, in which Johnson's temper certainly for us entirely to deny the school in which their master learned to draw." got the better of his reason as well as his politeness. "The fair Quaker" (as Boswell calls her) resembled, in many points, the strong-minded women of our own day; she was a good classical scholar, eminent for her attractive conversation, and her boldness in supporting her opinions by argument against the fiat of the great social dictator actually made her notorious among both his admirers and enemies. She was famous, also, for working pictures and taking portraits in worsted, her "sutile pictures," as Johnson called them, obtaining so much reputation that she had the honor of a commission for a likeness of himself from the King, George III. When Mrs. Farrar, as a girl, knew her, Mrs. Knowles, who had been left a handsome for-

GRIMM'S MICHAEL ANGELO.*

EVERY buyer of this, the Boston edition, should borrow a copy of the second London edition (Smith, Elder & Co., 1865) and copy therefrom two important adjuncts, which the American publishers have despised. The "Translator's Preface" in the first volume, though it contains interesting matter, is really not essential to the right use of the book-but then it is short, and would take not more than half an hour to transcribe in a legible hand. That which we would have copied from the second volume would be much more tedious and troublesome to write out, but then it is quite essential to the right use of the book; we mean the index. It is almost incredible triumphs of intellect seem to be those won by the investigation of physical that a leading publishing house should, at this day, have published an historical work of supposed permanent value without an index. Ilad there been none in existence, it would almost have been the duty of a houle of Phillips's address to the British Association supplies some noteworthy the standing of Little, Brown & Co. to cause one to be prepared for their own edition. The fact that none was attached to the first English edition nomena. There are few if any minds who have not been impressed with only made more evident the necessity of having one; and the second Lonthe nebular hypothesis of Herschel and La Place, according to which we not don edition, with the index, was received here so long before the appearance only saw "worlds on worlds in phalanx bright" in the heavens, but were of the Boston one, that the latter was generally thought to be a reprint of actually admitted to the secrets of nature's laboratory, and could trace mat. it. In other respects the one closely imitates the other, and the two are ter from its original diffusion to its condensation in the nebulous bodies of published at the remunerative prices of a guinea and five dollars,

The lady whose name appears on the title-page is known as a translator. Her work seems to have been done easily; too easily, indeed. To translate could be applied into collections of separate stars, rendered indistinct to a somewhat philosophical history from the German into English is no easy ordinary telescopic vision by remoteness of distance. So the question relatask for any one woman; and men, too, who have tried to turn German or mained till a new means of investigation presented itself by Prof. Kirchoff's French standard works into English have found—or, at least, have proved discovery of spectrum analysis. By this means the very constitution of the to their readers' satisfaction—that it is one thing to be able to read the origheavenly bodies can be ascertained. Tested thus, the nebulæ are found in linal with enjoyment, and quite another to be able to turn it into good, idiomatic, elegant English. We have not succeeded in finding, in New York, a copy of the German original of the "Life of Michael Angelo," but the English text conveys the idea of a conscientious attempt to give the stance at present unknown. Stars tested in the same manner are shown to sense of what the author wrote. Yet it is safe to assume that Mr. Grimun wrote good German, and good German is not fitly represented by inelegant English. Moreover, errors in translation occur which go far to prove the truth of a dictum which has been much disputed, that a translator must know as much of the matter in hand as the author. There is another fruitful source of errors, inseparable from the plan of this book as we have it: train of facts here most imperfectly alluded to without feeling how much the author writes in German of Italian men and things, art and literature, the world of thought gains by these daring excursions beyond "the flaming and the translator puts the author's thoughts into English. There is thus at least a two-fold chance of errors in the use of language, and, without unusual care on the part of the translator in verifying and in comparison with Italian originals, there will be multifold risk of errors of all sorts. Now it is probable, for reasons which we shall mention hereafter, that many of Dr. Johnson's circle of acquaintance, but by this time all matter of the of the inaccuracies, inelegancies, misstatements, errors of fact, and absurdities, which disfigure this book, are to be traced to the author. But, in the absence of his original text, it will be safer to make no attempt to fix

> "At the period in which he (Giotto) worked, the intellectual centre of Europe was not in Italy. . . . It was from France that the new Gothic style came into Italy. It was in France also that Giotto painted. His ten-

> Is it meant that Giotto learned to draw in France? The words, "It was in France," etc., seem to convey that meaning; but the last sentence, if it means anything, means that he learned to draw in Italy, and that, there fore, his figures "carry with them too much of miniature painting." Let us look at the fact: Giotto was in France and painted there, principally at Avignon, whither he accompanied Pope Clement when the seat of the Papacy was removed from Rome. But before he went thither he had painted, of works that still remain, the frescoes in Santa Croce at Florence

tune by her husband, a physician, was injuring all her talents and good and instance devotion to money that in time shut her out from all avole., pp. 558, 519.

Giotto to prove that "the intellectual centre of Europe was not in Italy." | quire more space than we can spare, but there is an instance on page 142 of That it had not been is true; that Gothic architecture came from France is the first volume less evident than some: "The bas-reliefs surrounding it true; that Giotto learned thing new about architecture while in France exhibit a certain rude magnificence and are superior to anything produced is possible-and the campanile was designed after his return-but he and by painting at that time. For, while the latter was compelled to keep to the Dante were precisely the men who did most to make Italy the intellectual forms of the living Byzantine masters, sculpture imitated the few remains centre which she long afterwards continued to be. Four lines further on of the ancient artists, and in so doing flourished. So widely divided were "quadrangular" (it is square, the term used is of course inaccurate), and to own mind and power are better understood, and his separate works better be "inlaid" with marble (it is in great part built of marble, and entirely described and criticized, than the minds and the works of other artists, but sheathed with it). On the next page the bell-tower is still further misused: the labored comparison between Angelo and Raphael is one of the most we are told that the outside is "formed of slates of black and white marble" (perhaps the translator wrote "slabs"), and that it is "covered with the Luini seem to indicate an entire ignorance of anything but the name of that most beautiful ornaments and sculpture, which are continued in marvellous great painter. The account of the Venetian power and national character, abundance to the very top" (two-thirds of the height is entirely without sculpture, except simple crockets and capitals; the campanile is a typical example of sculpture used to the best advantage, and put where it can be the nature of that art, and is, of course, inconclusive and false in the main. seen). Out of the discussion of the tower all we can extract is, that there is a great lack of accurate knowledge concerning it between the author and translator. Turning to the middle of the first volume, and opening at ran-sophomoric antithesis at the beginning of the second chapter, and the evidom, we find on page 265 a number of pencil-marks denoting blunders. dent uncertainty of the author, shown in many parts of the book, whether The Pope "ordered him to discover the best place for the monument in the Basilica of St. Peter." Angelo's Pieta stands in the chapel "dedicated to Gothic forms of building. Against the whole of the extravagant laudation the holy Petronella;" where Saint Petronella would be the proper English of Cornelius, with which the book abounds, and which is the principal purrendering of the idea. This is a clear case of mistranslation. Die heilige is merely "saint" (feminine) when used with a proper name. Five lines below we find that the Basilica had been "more than once defended by than Kaulbach, but is not, on that account or any other account, great or force and conquered," a clause wholly enigmatical, leaving it to the reader to study the history of the Basilica of St. Peter and ascertain whether it was taken or successfully defended. In the next line, "tribute of the lands something equivalent to "tribute of the nations." So far page 265 makes a pillars, and from these sprang arches which supported lofty walls covered with paintings and mosaics, and on the walls, nearly a hundred feet above on we have "corridors" when cloisters is meant, or perhaps arcades. This for writing the book. is the translator's fault, but the blunder in the next line is harder to fix: "the immense bronze pine apple" should be pine cone, that is, seed-vessel or fruit of the pine-tree, and whether author or translator is guilty of this the possession of the British Museum. Among them are many letters from we have no means of deciding. But it is more likely to be the author, as we judge from what follows about "the water gushing down between the leaves." And the author certainly is responsible for the assertion in the in the appendices to these two volumes, and these appendices are precisely next line that the church front had six doors; it had five.

The exposure of these countless blunders of this sort is perhaps not a profitable task, but it may be well to try a page of the second volume. We find on page 317 this awkward sentence: "It is probable that Michael of narrative to connect them. By these means he would have helped the Angelo, as he was influenced by Vittoria to cultivate poetry at all again, received from her also the impetus to those views." And the half-page that follows is full of inaccuracies and inelegancies of language: "Resignation for the present;" "longing for her husband suggested to her her first verses;" "complete abstraction at length in religious feelings;" "nothing teas more different, however, than Michael Angelo's poems and her own; " reflecting them in images which did not penetrate deeply;" all these are in less than a page. On page 154 there is a delicious bit: "He had him execute, so Condivi says, an infant St. John and a St. Giovannino." Of course Condivi says no such thing, but Angelo did "execute" an infant St. John or St. Giovannino, for Lorenzo dei Medici. On page 57 the meaning of Leonardo's advice to his pupils is ludicrously misunderstood. On page 86 the Loggia dei Lanzi is called a public hall.

The historical and descriptive portion of the book is very inaccurate. On the one hand there are pages and paragraphs where there are signs of study and thought, and on the other there is a great deal of the most hasty generalization and crude speculation. Much of the discussion concerning completely reasoned out, he will be a public benefactor. Mr. Grimm's course artists and their works, where description and criticism are mingled and a has been nearly the exact opposite to this, and his work is consequently of but philosophical conclusion is drawn, is weak because based on false premises. little value.

the decorations of the upper and lower churches at Assissi, including the The judgments expressed of the early men and their works, Brunelleschi, series of pictures illustrating the life of St. Francis; the frescoes in the Verrochio, Donatello, Ghiberti, Giotto, are oftener wrong than right. Campo Santo at Pisa, illustrating the life of Job; and the portrait of Dante Throughout the book there is a tendency to begin with a theory and warp in the Barghello at Florence; besides all these, the "O" had been drawn, facts to establish it. The curiously false conclusions to which this sort of and Giotto had been in Rome and had painted a whole era of pictures in the reasoning is apt to bring one—especially in matters relating to the fine arts Basilica of St. Peter and in the Vatican. It is absurd, therefore, to use -are seen in every chapter of the book. To quote them in full would rewe are told that Giotto was "not devoid of individual power." On page 22 the sources from which the two arts drew new life." It would require an the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore is called a "column," said to be essay to discuss the fallacies contained in those three sentences. Angelo's mistaken pieces of thought in the book: A few words here and there about though slight, is one of the best passages; but the discussion of the Venetian art is conducted according to the popular (and essentially German) notion of The guide-book raptures over Rome and Venice, and the cheap learning in the opening comparison between Florence and Athens, are matched by the he ought to regret or to rejoice over the substitution of revived classic for pose of the closing chapter, we warn those who are not familiar with the work of that painter: he is, indeed, as Mr. Grimm often says, a better painter

This work is not, of course, without merit. We have alluded to the account of Venice at the beginning of the second volume. The account of the was received" means anything or nothing; the author probably wrote roof paintings of the Sistine Chapel and that of the Medican tombs in the sacristy of San Lorenzo have a certain value, though there seems no ground for the bad show for the translator, but the next line seems to bring the author theory advanced, that the usual ascription of the tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliinto court: "Two long rows of antique pillars supported the framework of ano dei Medici should be reversed. The account of Condivi and Vasari in the the roof." The Basilica of St. Peter was five-aisled and had four rows of first volume seems to be just. And the author is familiar with many of the conclusions of modern thinkers on art, and is often right in his use of them. But we dwell so briefly upon these merits, and have discussed the faults so the columns, rested the framework of the roof or roofs. A few lines further much more at length, because we hold that there has been no good reason

> The ostensible reason for writing it is as follows: A number of papers, long preserved in the archives of the Buonarotti family, in Florence, have come into Michael Angelo himself, and much valuable information in regard to dates and events is to be found in them. The Italian text of some of these is given what make the book worth buying. The proper course for Mr. Grimm to have adopted was to have published for his countrymen the Italian text of these letters, with an accurate translation in German, and, perhaps, a thread world toward a right understanding of the times and men of which this book affords but a confused image.

> There already exists a much better life of Michael Angelo than this, written by Mr. John S. Harford, the second edition of which was published in 1858. It is calm and scholarly in tone, affording a marked contrast to the hurried and crowded text of Bunnett's Grimm, and is historically very valuable, giving needed and authentic information on many points which Mr. Grimm touches but to confuse. In the matter of art criticism it is deficient, but not misleading or injurious.

> No new life of Angelo is needed, unless it be an elaborate review of his art and the art of his time. Mr. Grimm seems to have but a traveller's knowledge of his or of any art. If some one, well versed in mediæval history, and an excellent Italian scholar, will devote three or four years of his life to a careful, patient study of Italian art from the twelfth century down to the death of Angelo, and will then write a book about half as full and discursive as this is, and of such size as will hold his principal subject clearly stated and

POETRY OF THE ORIENT.*

How shall the West be brought duly to appreciate and respect the East? is, to the true lover of his kind, one of the pressing questions of the day. In the strength of our superior civilization, and the arrogance prompted by our consciousness of its possession, we are in danger of doing less than justice to that larger portion of mankind whom we group together under the name "Orientals." We know, and are ready to acknowledge, in a general way, that science, religion, and polity had their beginnings in Asia. But we have no personal feeling of indebtedness on that account to the Asiatic populations of our own time. Ex oriente lux is a true enough motto for the historian and archæologist; but, with the sun riding high in heaven above our heads, what care we for the low Eastern hills which were reddened by his first beams, but now rest in the dimness of a gathering twilight? Who loves the Chinese any better, because so many important elements of our culture came from China? Who feels with the Hindus, because rays of Indian enlightenment, which illumined half Asia, have even penetrated Europe? or with the Mohammedans, because they bore a chief part in bridging over the dark ages, that knowledge might pass from the classical to the modern world? Who admires the Jews, because Moses and Christ were of their race? Gratitude does not inherit from generation to generation, and from epoch to epoch. We have entered upon a career of advancement which has left Asia far behind; we have inherited or attained a mental symmetry, a balance of the powers of observation, reflection, and fancy, to which the onesidedness and intensity of the Orientals are distasteful; and our want of sympathy makes us intolerant: we depreciate their personal character, contemn their literature, and stigmatize their religion as childish superstition or

This would be less to be deprecated, if our feeling of superiority expressed itself in mental acts alone. But, just as soon as we set down a race as inferior, we begin to hold ourselves absolved from treating it with social and political justice. Injustice to inferiors, indeed, is one of the ruling principles of human activity. The kingdom of heaven may be the appointed inheritance of the poor in spirit; but the good things of earth are for those who can win and keep them. Even as between man and man, in our own community, the stronger takes advantage of the weaker, the knowing of the ignorant, our Christianity to the contrary notwithstanding. Because the African race is decidedly beneath the European in the sum of its endowments, instead of lending it a helping hand to enable it to secure its utmost share of happiness and elevation, we grind it beneath us, in varying degree and manner, from the servitude to which the South would fain still condemn it, to the exclusion from rights allowed and secured to all other manhood to which it is subjected by a part even of freedom-loying New England. Our conduct toward the Indian tribes is directly calculated to sweep them off the face of the earth; and we who, as individuals, would not think of shooting or starving a Sioux or a Blackfoot, in order to get him out of our way. do it as a nation, and are ready to flatter ourselves that we are only instruments in the hands of Providence to carry out its designs. Why should not the lower race give way to the higher, that the sum of human happiness may be increased?

The Oriental nations have had their full share of this kind of treatment to endure. European culture and Christianity are far superior to all the forms of civilization and all the religious isms of Asia; and these, with the peoples who live by them, must yield place or be crushed. Their rights, as individuals and as communities, are little in our eyes compared with the rights of a higher humanity, which we represent. The general intercourse between European and Asiatic powers has been marked with encroachment and oppression on the part of the former. No doubt that in nearly every specific act the European power has been speciously in the right. It is easy for the superior to put the inferior in the wrong, and to exact the penalty. That the British East India government should derive its richest item of revenue from opium raised expressly to be smuggled into China is highly proper, a part of the glorious system of free production and free trade; they did not take the abominable drug to China and force it into the nostrils of the people. But when the Chinese government, smarting under the results of this innocent arrangement, and feeling about blindly and impotently for means to check and prevent the traffic, lays its hands on the sacred person of a British diplomatic agent, the laws of nations are outraged, and the war waged to avenge the injury is a just one; its effect, that all resistance to the introduction of opium relaxes, is only incidental and unavoidable. It is very wrong for the Japanese to shut themselves straitly up, letting none go out and none come in, excluding their own countrymen whom misfortune at

sea has carried to foreign ports, treating as intruders and spies the shipwrecked of other nations; and to break down the barrier by mingled intimidation and cajolery is a laudable deed-even though it lead them, by an unavoidable sequence of causes and effects, to intestine dissension and foreign war. We want to bind all parts of the earth together by the ties of commerce, of a mutual supply of wants, certain that we shall profit thereby, and confident that others will, or may, or ought to, do the same. We are apostles of the fraternity of nations, and we cannot let our propagandism be obstructed, even though our invitation, in itself not much different from that of the French revolutionist, Sois mon frère, ou je te tue! sounds in the ears of those to whom it is addressed ominously like "be my brother, and I destroy thee!" If the unrestricted interference of the West in the affairs of the civilized East is to lead to the overthrow of all that the Eastern peoples hold most dear-their religions, their forms of polity, their inherited usages, even their nationality-their right, in the interest of self-preservation, to resist the beginnings of such a revolution is greater than our right to urge it upon them.

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with Mr. Alger's book of Oriental poetry? The connection is not difficult to point out. The highest significance of such a work lies in its interest and effect in bringing the Orient to the knowledge and sympathizing regard of the cultivated in our community, the leaders of public opinion. To win for the African the rights to which, as a human being among human beings, he is entitled, we have to prove him by his gifts a full man, to show that he is in many respects equal, in some, perhaps, superior, to ourselves; that he can think, feel, plan, act, fight even, like a real man, made in the image of God. In like manner, our general public need to be made to realize much more fully than at present that the Oriental is our brother in intellect as in destiny; that his soul will ery out as loudly to its Maker under injustice and oppression as would that of the European. This is a task in which scholars who have worked themselves into a comprehension and appreciation of the Orient, who know and feel what it has been and still is worth in the sum of humanity, have got to bear a chief part. And to do so is Mr. Alger's distinct aim. He is one of those who acknowledge a deep sympathy with some of the peculiarities of the Eastern mind; he regards it as in many of its qualities of a finer temper than our own, and is bent upon winning for it from his contemporaries the same admiration and reverence with which it inspires himself. In this view, his effort is worthy of all respect and approval.

That he has not failed of a fair share of success, is proved by the fact that a large earlier edition of his volume, from which this is but slightly altered. has been absorbed by our reading public within a few years. Yet, notwithstanding this authoritative sanction, we must confess ourselves less satisfied with the execution of the work than with its intent. Mr. Alger lays no claim to the character of an Oriental scholar; what he gives us he gets himself at second hand. Perhaps for this reason his collection is wanting in scholarly method. The pieces of which it is made up, its specimens of Oriental thought and fancy, run one after another in the accidental order of a commonplace-book, without attempt at arrangement of any kind by subject, by country, or by period. They are, too-and this is a much more serious defect-of heterogeneous character, translations from Oriental originals, translations from Oriental imitators, and original imitations of Oriental thought and style. Much the greater part of the extracts is referred to no authority whatever; we can only guess by their contents from what language and people they come. This requires us to trust more to our author than we feel ready to do. How know we that he is so penetrated with the Oriental spirit that all he gives us is genuinely Oriental? May we not be taking in a larger share of Mr. Alger himself than we at first suspect. or than we care to receive? It needs a rare power of self-abnegation, and some devoted scholarship, to put one into a mental and moral posture so different from ours as is the Oriental. Goethe's "West-Eastern Divan" is a masterpiece; but not only was Goethe himself a master, one of the very greatest the world has ever seen, but he had steeped himself in a particular part of Orientalism, and reproduced only that. And there is a certain sameness of tone running through all our author's selections which cannot but strike us as being more than we should fairly anticipate as the result of that unity of spirit which, in virtue of their common quality of "Oriental," ought to characterize the productions of so diverse races and periods. Of sharp-cut versions, which have the ring of an original, and make a strong individual impression, we find few or none; in every line we see most conspicuous the hue of the translator's ink. The translations which he cites in his introduction are to his disadvantage, as suggesting unfavorable comparisons between their life and vigor and that which his own pieces exhibit.

The introduction, which constitutes nearly a third of the volume, must not be passed by without some special notice. It would be quite as | r per

^{*&}quot;The Poetry of the Orient. By William Rounseville Alger." Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1865. 12mo, pp. xii., 337.

Sûfi poetry: which is somewhat as if one were to divide southern European poetthese themes will be read with pleasure, save as some will be startled, and perhaps filled with misgiving as to the effect of conversance with Oriental models. by the flood of gorgeous diction which comes so easily from his pen, bathing and almost drowning his subject in a sea of eulogy. He is justified in his claim that no account of Oriental poetry, as a whole, exists within reach of the English reader. Nor can we expect that the want will ever be satisfactorily filled. Those who best understand the matter are those who will be least likely to attempt it. Scanned from a distance, and with a superficial eye, the poetry of Asia seems one whole, having a common character; but when examined more closely, better comprehended, it is seen to be as heterogeneous, as full of variety, as that of the West. One distinctive feature it has: it is not the reflex of European culture; any other would be hard to find, unless it be the immoderateness, the want of harmonicus counterpoise, to which we have already once referred. The Asiatic literary historian, of whatever nation. were he treating the whole vast theme of the productions of the human imagination, would doubtless reverse our procedure, by separately describing the national literatures of Asia, and grouping those of Europe together as "Occidental." And he would be more in the right than we. - Classical culture and the imitation of classical models bind a tie of unity about all that Europe and her colonies have produced; there is no such bond connecting Arab, Chinese, and Hindu literatures, nor could any discordance, in respect to national style and character, be greater than that between these three coun-

He who comes to Mr. Alger's volume with a right apprehension of what he is to look for in it-not a thorough and systematic illustration of wit and fancy, but a miscellaneous collection of observations and specimens, desultory reading for leisure hours-will be able to derive from it both amusement and instruction.

COLE'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.*

This neatly and correctly printed little volume will be found a very useful hand-book, affording "ready information of the births and deaths of deceased persons, more or less noteworthy, of all countries and periods.' The author modestly hopes-and we trust his hope will not be deceivedthat it will "lie upon the desk, an unobtrusive companion of other books of many sorts, to give a reader its rapid answer whenever he is tempted to pause at a name, and ask no more than 'When did he live?'" This curiosity he satisfies in the plainest and shortest way, generally in a line to a query. The additions attached to the names and dates, which also answer the question "Who was he?" or "What has he done?" are not intended to furnish a condensed biography, but chiefly to identify the individuals. The italics within brackets indicate some production of the pen or some work of art-whenever possible, a chef d'auvre; the italics without brackets indicate a second, an assumed, or an original name. Biographies of the subject are referred to thus: "Life by . . ." or "L. by . . ." When we add that this biographical dictionary contains no less than eighteen thousand names, and that the author has labored with conscientious zeal and rare diligence in verifying his dates, the reader will at once perceive how much benefit he may derive from such a companion of his literary occupations.

On the other hand, we cannot but regret that the author has not also bestowed on his work the attention and labor necessary to make it complete, uniform, and as correct in everything else as it is in dates. His acquaintance with English, French, and classical history and literature, and the use of a number of standard guides to biographical knowledge, have enabled him to perform parts of his task thoroughly and accurately; in others he has been less successful, chiefly from want of discrimination in making the choice of his subjects. While thousands of names given might be eliminated without detriment to the plan of the book, other thousands, of real historical value, are wanted to make it complete. Of this an American reader will easily be convinced, when, after finding on its first page a list of such names as C. C. H. vander Aa, P. vander Aa, N. Aagard, C. Aagard, E. Aalst, W. Aalst, A. Aaron, Aaron Acharon, P. Aarsens, F. van Aarsens, Aartgens, Abano, Abas

* "A Brief Biographical Dictionary. Compiled and Arranged by the Rev. Charles Cole. B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge." London and Cambridge: McMillan & Co. 1865.

to call it, instead of an introduction, an independent essay, a panegyric of cal, Abate, Abatini, Abatini, Abauzit, Abbadie, etc., he will in vain look for Eastern poetry, illustrated with specimens, to which, by way of appendix, the date of birth or death of such Americans of former or recent times as are added a number of original versifications by the author. It points out Hancock, Otis, Montgomery, Arnold, Sumpter, Marion, Mercer, Randolph, what has been done, chiefly on the continent of Europe, toward rendering the Benton, Douglas, Perry, John Brown, Foote, Kearney, or Reno. A Poie productions of the Asiatic muse accessible to Western readers, and then at must be equally surprised not to find the names of such chief representatives tempts to describe their distinguishing characteristics. The classification of his country's ancient military or literary glory as Chodkiewicz, Zolkiewski, adopted for them is a very strange one, namely, into Arab, Hindu, Persian, and Czarnecki, and Kochanowski, or the names of the (now deceased) principal leaders in the memorable revolution of 1831-Wysocki, Chlopicki, Dwerry into French, Spanish, Italian, and dramatic. What Mr. Alger writes upon nicki, Skrzynecki, and Dembinski, whom not even a fifth-rate general history or biographical cyclopædia will pass over in silence. A Hungarian will not only miss the equally renowned heroes and martyrs of his late struggle, Damjanics, Nagy Sándor, Csányi, and Széchenyi, but also such old historical names as King John Zapolya, Bocskai, and the elder Zrinyi-the Leonidas of modern times-though he may discover his Hunyady, Tökölyi, and Rákôczy, if he knows that the English persist in calling them Hunniades, Tekeli, and Ragotski. Hardly less grievous is the omission of such modern historical or literary names-Italian, German, Greek, and Servianas Leopardi, Colletta, Bandiera, and Ruggiero; Schill, Sand, Hebel, Immermann, and Lenau; Olysseus and Miaulis; Czerny George and Milosh. But even of modern French names, in spite of the author's diligent use of both the "Biographie Universelle" and "Nouvelle Biographie Générale," we find such as the following missing: Generals J. B. Cavaignac, M. Dumas, and Dampierre; Grégoire, Decazes, Godefroy Cavaignae, and Proudhon; and the regicides, Louvel, Alibaud, and Fieschi. Jewish history and literature, ancient as well as modern, are altogether very poorly represented. Not only are the non-royal biblical names, as Moses, Joshua, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as it appears, consistently omitted-for reasons neither stated nor obvious-but also some of the most distinguished post-biblical names of Hebrew literature, as the Rabbis Solomon Isaaki, Nachmanides, and Solomon-ben-Meir, or the poets, Moses-ben-Ezra, M. H. Luzzato, and Wessely, are not to be found, while others incomparably less important are given.

Ignorance of the Hebrew language on the part of the author, and, probably, also, of his authorities, is the source of several errors. Thus Hillel the Elder is designated Hassa Ken, which stands for Ha-Zaken or Haz-Zaken (Heb., ha, the, and zaken, old); R. Albe's Sepher ha-ikkarim ("Book of Principles"), is called Sepher Hikkarim; the surname of one Rabbi Juda is given in this way, Hakkadosh, and that of another thus, Ha-Levi, though ha is the same definite article in both, German words and titles are rarely given, but not without errors. The French and Italian are well handled, still we find Litéraire (one t, p. 208), Memoirs sur Napoleon (without accents, p. 3), Ercole de (not di or da) Ferrara (p. 205), and similar slight mistakes. The names of the subjects, probably for typographical reasons, are all given without accents, which makes many look very awkward, as D'Estrees, Fenelon, Stael, Cambaceres, Arpad, Kolcsey, Blucher, Muller, etc. The Russian broad o, preceded by o, in the termination of family names, is represented in all possible ways, as in Ivanof, Volkoff, Nakhimov, and Kracheninnikov. "Derschawin, or Derzhavine," which is a mixture of German, English, and French, is another exemplification of our careless way of spelling names of nations whose alphabet is not the Roman. From the author's general rule of giving all common Christian names only in English, the Hungarian names, as attached to Katona, Kazinczy, Petoefi, and others, seem to form the only exception. The Vladislases of Hungary are erroneously mixed up with the Ladislases. King Stephen II., of the same nation, the emperor of the East, Michael II., and the Lewises of Germany receive their surnames in French, as given in the author's principal authorities for non-English biography, thus: Le Foudre, Le Bêgue, Le Jeune, L'Aveugle, L'Enfant-while the surnames of the French Charleses are given in English, the Bold. the Fat, the Fair, the Wise, etc. We find, also, some inaccurate dates of reigns, as 1204 for 1205, 1826 for 1825, and 1857 for 1858, under Andrew II., Nicholas, and

Repetitions, instead of references, are frequent, being mostly intentional, and caused by differences of names or spelling, or by such additional syllables as de, di, da, del, etc., but, we must confess, in their discrepancies they often reveal an uncommon degree of haste in compiling or copying, to say the least. A few examples will suffice as illustrations:

"Cosmo II. de Medici. Grand Duke of Tuscany. Life by Aldus Manutius, Jun., 1585. Born 1519-died Apr. 21, 1574.

Medici, Cosmode. The Great. 1st Grand-duke of Tuscany. Life by Bal-Born 1519—died Apr. 21, 1574."

" De Gerando, Joseph Mary, Baron. Fr. Statesman."
"Gerando, Joseph Mary, Baron de. Fr. Philosoph. Writer."

"D. Herbelot, Bartholomew. Orientalist."

"Herbelot, Barthol. d'. Fr. Orient. (Biblioth. Orientale.)"

"Fabius Maximus, Q. Cunctator. Opponent of Hannibal." "Maximus, Q. Fabius. Cunctator. Roman General against Hannibal."

- "Leonardo da Vinci. Painter. Life by Amaretti; J. W. Brown, 1828."
- "Da Vinci, Leonardo. Painter. L. by J. W. Brown, 1828."
- "Maccabeus, Judas. Jewish Patriot."
- "Judas Maccabæus. Jewish Patriot (166-160)."
- "Mathias Corvinus. King of Hungary and Bohemia." Mathias Corvinus. King of Hungary (1458–90)."

That of the titles attached to the eighteen thousand names many are inaccurate, will surprise nobody. Thus, Bolivar, the deliverer of half a continent, is called the "Liberator of Bolivia;" Benyowsky, who was born in Hungary, and roamed all over the world, a "Polish Adventurer;" and Solomon ben Virga, a "Spanish Rabbi" of the "16th cent.," in which there were no Jews in Spain. Such and similar errors or inaccuracies, we trust, the diligent author will eliminate by scores from his valuable work, "in revising each successive edition that may be called for." In the next, we hope to find the date of President Lincoln's birth added to that of his death, which is given.

TWO MEN.*

When you have read this novel you feel as if you had been at the play, and, though you are ever so dull a man, you are conscious that hidden springs of epigram have been touched in your nature, and that it is in you for the moment to talk brilliantly. You wish, also, to express yourself vielntly and recklessly, with an oath or two, and you confess in various was the frank, vehement power of the romance. It is very interesting; and although most old travellers in fable-land might guess the end when the journey is half done, few would care to turn aside from it there.

It is a very curious book, for two reasons: the analysis of character which the taste of this age demands is dramatic, and the most subjective purpose is achieved by the most objective processes. The author seldom vouchsafes a word of comment or explanation on anything that her people do or say; and yet, from their brief speeches and dramatic action, you have the same knowledge of motive which you acquire from the philosophization of some such subjective romance as "The Scarlet Letter." We think this admirable, because it wisely satisfies the analytic tendency of modern feeling, and yet escapes the motionlessness of a study. The book is also curious because, with many improbabilities and incongruities, it leaves at last an impression of reality, and of propriety within certain conditions, which must be granted the author as they must be granted to every artist. We may protest that we never knew any such town as Crest, and that we never met such invariably bright, bad people as live there, but we must nevertheless acknowledge the truth of the characters to themselves, to each other, and to the atmosphere in which we find them. It is at times an atmosphere in which only eldritch and unearthly things could breathe.

The story is briefly this: Jason Auster, a young carpenter, who comes to the seaport town of Crest, in New England, with certain vague aspirations and theories for the reform and universal happiness of our race, marries there Sarah Parke, the grand-daughter of the selfish, self-sufficing old Squire Parke, and lapses from his high dreams into a repressed, useless life of ease and silent discontent. He is nothing in the house while the old squire lives, and he is never anything but the father of his wife's son and her skilful business-man while she lives. There is no love between them and no dislike, and it does not seem that there is any more positive feeling, except a tardy tenderness and respect in the son, between Jason and his child, from youth to manhood. The father never interferes with the education of the boy, who grows as selfish and bad as his good nature will let his mother make him. Shortly after the old squire's death, a scapegrace cousin of Sarah's returns from many years' vagabondage in South America, bringing with him his daughter Philippa, and leaves her to his cousin's conscientious care and cold dislike. There has been some early passion for this Osmond Luce in Sarah's heart, but she has never forgiven him for leaving home and her, and she feels now no tenderness for him or his. Naturally, Philippa falls in love with her beautiful cousin, Parke Auster-Sarah's son-and sets her whole, strange, loveless life on his possession. This hope of Philippa's is threatened at one time by the charms of a beautiful friend, Theresa Bond, who comes to visit her, and with whom Parke seems for a time to be in love; and it is at last broken by Parke's guilty passion for an octoroon girl who has come to live in Crest with her mother and sister. Parke, whose nature is good and generous, is about to repair his wrong as far as possible by marrying Charlotte Lang, when his mother dies of broken pride-heart she seems to have none-and Charlotte dies in giving birth to his child. He causes her to be laid, as his wife, in the burial-place of the Parkes, and

openly owns the Langs as his kindred before the world. Philippa's father being again returned from the pampas, Parke determines to go back to South America with him, and does so, Philippa confessing her love for him, and killing it in the parting. He never appears in Crest again.

Now it is the time for Philippa and Jason, the evident affinities, to draw near to each other, and find in one another's hearts that relief, expression, and repose which has been denied to both all their lives. Jason has long loved Philippa, but, discerning her love for Parke, has done all he could to stifle his own love and to bring about the fruition of her passion. But his efforts and hers have failed, and he now opens his heart to her. There is no good reason why Philippa should not respond at once to his love, but it is not till he has shot off his hand, and she has nursed him through a fever, that she finds she loves him, and it is not till he has objectlessly gone out West and come back again, that they finally understand each other, and wed—which ends the story.

It is a pity that the author should have needlessly weakened the dénoument of her story, and united the lovers by a device which, in various disguises, has already done such veteran service in fiction. We believe that in some thousands of modern novels obdurate heroines have been softened into marriageable humor by the mutilation and fever of the heroes, and we are sorry to be reminded at last of what is commonplace by what is otherwise eminently original. In plot, in character and treatment, "Two Men" is one of the most original books written by an American woman; it is original in its goodness and in its badness; the author's faults (except the one already mentioned), like her merits, are almost wholly her own, and not Miss Shepherd's, as in the works of Miss Prescott, nor Charlotte Brontë's, as in the works of Miss Hardinge.

We conceive the main purpose of the book to be the contrast of the characters of the father and son, Jason and Parke, the two men, who have many salient points in common. The characters of both are grounded in goodness of nature, but Parke's life is spoiled by selfishness so thorough and supreme as to be without a consciousness of what it is. He is good through intuition and impulse, and what good he does finds positive and generous expression, while his father's goodness throughout consists in selfrepression and silent self-sacrifice. He also has little self-consciousness, and his control over himself is so great that his sufferings, like his longings, are for the most part dumb. The author has not, however, developed his character sufficiently, and, on the whole, the contrast is not satisfactorily effected. In Philippa there is little character apart from her relentless passion for Parke, which almost accomplishes fruition by virtue of faith and hope in itself. Sarah's nature is mute, hard, cold, detestable, without anything active in it. but dislikes and dull ambitions. Theresa Bond is the humanest woman in the book : brilliant, warm, capable of loving simply and naturally, though she is full of pretty artifice and sweet egotism. We like, also, the vagabond Osmond Luce, whose character is so admirably indicated, on the occasions of his rare appearance, that we know the good-humored, bad-hearted, engaging, worthless wanderer much better than either Parke or Jason. Langs are perhaps, however, the most successful creations in the book; they are marvellously well done. Mrs. Lang has been sent to Crest by her master and lover, with their two children, and her whole career and being are thus summed up:

"The glitter of negro blood was in Mrs. Lang's eyes, and the negro modulation in her voice; her complexion was a deep yellow, and she wore a wig of dark, straight hair. Though past middle age, her carriage was still splendid. She had been a lithe, sinewy, gay savage, but her day was over; a double expression was dominant in her face now—of wearins, from some long-continued strain, and of repose, because of safety attained. Her manners reflected the hut, the boudoir, and the Methodist gatherings of plantation slayes."

The daughters, also, are indicated with a like freedom and adequacy:

"Clarice had a brilliant, swarthy complexion, shining, curly, black hair, large black eyes with a vindictive sparkle, and manners which were a mixture of the sulky and the vivacious. Charlotte reminded one of the Calla Ethiopia, she was so tall, slender, bending, and graceful, her complexion so smooth and opaque, and the curves of her face so beautiful. Her lips were always parted, her wistful light-blue eyes widely opened, and her straight, silky, chestnut hair disordered. She impressed these who saw her with a pitying admiration, a wondering regret, and a mysterious doubt."

We think Mrs. Stoddard succeeds better with these people than with most others in her book, because she keeps them in their place, as the folks at Crest did. They seldom rise to those heights of epigram on which the other characters tread, and in their simple, vulgar presence one feels a curious relief from the intensity which pursues one through the book. This quality, which occasionally takes a white heat of fierceness, is so prevalent as at last to enfeeble and destroy the very effects sought to be produced. The billow which seemed destined to overwhelm you breaks at last in its

^{* &}quot;Two Men. A Novel. By Elizabeth Stoddard, author of 'The Morgesons.' "New York: Bunce & Huntington. 1865.

frenzy into a weak foam, and your face is dashed with spray when you and full faith in our future. He will recognize what the author says in his waited to be swept down to gulfs of feeling. This fault of the author's attacks nearly all her descriptions of nature, and

"The light that never was on land or sea"

dwells properly on her text, where trees, hills, valleys, streams, and clouds are of a phantasmal strangeness. Mrs. Stoddard is one of the few people who might write much more with the hope of writing much better, because the bad babit of intensity can hardly attend great fertility of literary pro-

Apart from this intensity, the literature of the book is excellent. The style is exquisitely clear and sharp-cut; the reader is hurried to the end with a tireless succession of events, and there is a peculiar pleasure and repose to the interest in being made to rest at last solely on the fortunes of Philippa and Jason. Altogether the novel must be accepted as an original expression of American feeling, and its characters, however exceptional, as veritable American types.

THE SLAVE POWER.*

It is well known how much the rebel chiefs did in Europe to pervert public opinion, and how little was done by the Government of the Union to frustrate their efforts. Almost all that has been done to enlighten the people of Europe on the causes and the aims of the rebellion is due to the patriotism of private citizens. Correspondents of English, German, French, and Italian papers have sent truthful accounts of our great struggle, and many noble Europeans devoted themselves to the Union, and the nation owes them a debt of gratitude; but, above all, this debt of gratitude is due to the American citizens abroad who, in the gloomiest days of our civil war, never despaired of their country-who, in the midst of enemies or lukewarm lookers on, rose as defenders of its cause.

Among these devoted citizens Mr. Theodore S. Fay, formerly Resident Minister of the United States in Switzerland, deserves to be mentioned as one of the most effective defenders of the Union. Residing at Berlin, the intellectual capital of Germany, he met with two rebel emissaries-Mr. James Williams, ex-minister of the United States at Constantinople, and a Mr. Hudson, styling himself secretary of legation of the United States-hard at work to misrepresent the cause of the North in the eyes of the German people, whose sympathies with the United States are of such great importance for the development of the prosperity and power of the Republic.

Mr. Fay attacked and defeated the rebel emissaries by laying our national records before the German people, and by showing them how, from the cradle of our independence to the outbreak of the rebellion, the slaveholding aristocracy had conspired for the destruction of the Union in order to build up that edifice whose corner stone was to be slavery. Speeches have been made and pamphlets published in England and France on the same side more eloquent and brilliant than Mr. Fay's little book, but we are fully convinced that nothing more effective has been spoken or published abroad. Long after the excitement of the fierce struggle will have subsided, Mr. Fay's book will pass in Germany from hand to hand as the best epitome of the history of the Union; and no better refutation of the many falsehoods disseminated in Europe by the rebel agents could have been supplied than his condensed historical sketch showing the origin and progress of the colonies, their struggle against English despotism, the long conspiracy of the slaveholders, the forbearance of the free North, and, finally, the unavoidable necessity of crushing the rebellion in order to save the nation.

Written in the German language, the style of Mr. Fay's book is clear, concise, and striking, because there is no attempt to strengthen truth by rhetorical flourishes. The author lets the facts speak for themselves. He gives the history of the United States from the beginning to the present day in short paragraphs; all are excellent. Among the most important ones we mention the comparison between the revolution of 1776 and the rebellion of 1860, the chapters on State sovereignty, the Monroe doctrine, and the struggle against the slaveholding aristocracy. Step by step Mr. Fay leads us to the outbreak of that long prepared rebellion. He shows the barbarism of its principles by quoting its Southern defenders, and its unprovoked criminality by the declarations of the originators of the civil war. No intelligent reader can peruse this risumé of the history of the United States without acquiring a correct insight into our past, a just appreciation of the late fierce struggle,

"No thoughtful observer can let the panorama of history pass before his yes without seeing the perpetual combat of evil against good. There has always been a great battle raging; but, alas! the victory has not always been on the side of good. . . . I do not intend to write a history of the United States, but simply to demonstrate by a short sketch how the battle between good and evil has been carried over from the Old World to the New."

Mr. Fay's little book has taught, and will continue to teach, the German people that the victory won this time by the good is not only an American victory, but a victory of the human race.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE EDMUND BURKE. Revised Edition. Vol. II. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Two MEN. A Novel. By Elizabeth Stoddard. Bunce & Huntington, New York. GOLDEN-HAIRED GERTRUDE. A Story for Children. By Theodore Tilton, Tibbals

THE REBELLION RECORD. Part L. D. Van Nostrand, New York.

HISTORIC RECORDS OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF TEXAS DURING THE REBELLION. With a Correspondence between Rev. Alexander Gregg, D.D., and Rev. Charles Gillette. John A. Gray & Green, New York.

THE SUNBEAM AND THE SPECTROSCOPE. By Howard Townsend, M.D. J. Munsell,

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CUBA AND PORTO RICO. By Several Cuban and Porto-Rican Abolitionists. Wm. C. Bryant & Co., New York.

PRISON LIFE IN THE SOUTH. By Lieut. A. O. Abbott. Harper & Bros., New York. New System of Physiognomy. The Art of Knowing Men by their Eyes. By M. Aguirre de Venero. John F. Trow, New York.

CONGREGATIONALISM. What it is; Whence it is: How it works. By Henry M. Dexter.—The Knightly Soldier. A Biography of Major Henry Ward Camp, by Chaplain H. Clay Trumbull. Nichols & Noyes, Boston; Oliver S. Felt, New York.

Fine Arts.

ART NOTES.

On the northern coast of Sicily, about ten miles east from Palermo and near the little town Castello di Solanto, a search is being carried on among the almost wholly buried ruins of a very ancient city. These ruins are, perhaps, to be identified as the remains of the ancient city of Soluntum; but, as the Soluntum of the Romans was a place of little importance, and completely overshadowed by the neighboring seaport and naval station Panormus (Palermo), we must look further back than the times of the Roman o minion for many of the relics that are found. Their character confirms this Pompeian remains are modern in comparison with the venerable antiquity of the buildings explored and the movables found in this spot. Traces of a civilization long anterior even to the Carthaginian conquest of Sicily are found, relics and indications of the dominion of the Phoenician colonizers, and even, think the enthusiastic antiquaries, of the oldest civilization of all -that of the Titan or pre-historic inhabitants of the island. For several years these researches have been carried on in a desultory way, enriching the Museum of Palermo, but producing little other result. Within two years a more definite end has been proposed, and the ruins are to be systematically brought to light and preserved from injury. The city cannot, however, be so complete as Pompeii, having been ruined by fire and by decay, without the protecting enclosure of sand and ashes. Up to this time the small treasures of bronze, pottery, and glass have been more valuable than anything found in immediate connection with buildings. The glass has been especially abundant and beautiful—many pieces but little injured, and of very great artistic merit both in form and in color. The collection of coins, also, already made from among these instructive ruins is very rich and of high historical value.

-Researches have begun among some ruins less ancient but far more interesting than those of Soluntum. A paragraph in the Constitutionnel tells us of the commencement of a careful examination of the ruins of Château Gaillard. Those who know Turner's "Rivers of France" will remember the two prints-" Château Gaillard from the South," shown perched on the precipitous rock that rises three hundred feet above the Seine; Château Gaillard from the East," standing in the foreground at our feet, while the vast extent of country south of the Seine stretches away towards Evreux. These glorious landscapes are the principal bond between modern times and the Insolent Castle, but the castle has a great record, which makes an important chapter in mediæval history. It was built by Richard the Lion-Hearted on the top of the lofty and precipitous rock of Andely, and the town of Petit-Andely clustered around the foot of the crag. It was the

^{*&}quot;Die Sklavenmacht: Blicke in die Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, zur Erklärung der Rebellion von 1860-65. Von Theodor S. Fay." Berlin: Stilke & Van Muyden.

[&]quot;Glimpses of the History of the United States of America, in Explanation of the Rebellion of 1880-65. By Theodore S. Fay, formerly Minister Resident of the United States in Switzerland." [The proceeds of sale are to be devoted to the benefit of the Freedmen in America.] Berlin: Stilke & Van Muyden. 1885.

greatest fortress in Europe, the most impregnable, the most skilfully placed and constructed-a castle to which Ehrenbreitstein and Rudolstadt were border towers of no importance. "C'est un château gaillard," cried Richard himself, as it approached completion, and the name remained. No king but John Lackland could have managed to lose his hold upon the defiant fortress, but Philippe Auguste took it from him, and it never passed into English hands again. Henri Quatre dismantled it and Louis Treize destroyed it for fear some disaffected or rebellious people might be too "gaillards," with the castle to shelter in. But it has been a shelter for fugitives and a state prison for offenders of the blood royal, and its ruins hide more of the strange and beautiful than has yet been found; coins, glassware, pottery, and metal-work have already been exhumed, and the hunt goes on. If these researches will help to throw light on the little understood subject of early mediæval pottery, they will have been most useful.

-A series of photographs has been published under the title, "Rays of Sunlight from South America." There are seventy pictures, and they form a small oblong folio volume bound in morocco, and offered to subscribers at the price of one hundred dollars. Of the pictures more than half are views in the city of Lima; the remainder are scenes on the Chincha Islands. The negatives were taken by H. Moulton, and the positives are printed in Washington by Alexander Gardner. In the specimen book the somewhat affected title is not very appropriate, for the prints are not very clear nor so sharp in their shadows and strong in their lights as to look at all sunny. Careful printing would produce a much better result : most of the negatives, at least, would allow of better prints than these, and we hope that the subscribers will receive better treatment than they are promised. Of the Lima pictures many are very uninteresting, and represent quite unimportant scenes. The best are those which represent, on a tolerably large scale, the extraordinary architecture and external decorations of some of the important churches. There is some European architecture of the decadence that is somewhat like this but these church fronts excel in quaintness anything we can recall of European work. We mention as worthy of notice the photographs of Trinity Church, the Church of San Francisco, and of the facade of the Church of Mercy. The statues of Bolivar and of Columbus are interesting: the former is a well known work of sculpture. Besides these, the Ruins of the Aqueduct and the Southern Gate of Lima are worth looking at carefully. The Chincha Island photographs, though often very obscure and vague, are interesting. They show the whole process of quarrying and shipping guano. The Panorama of North Island, with part of the Fleet waiting for Guano, is contained in two pictures; that of Middle Island in two more. The Great Heap, which is estimated to contain two million tons of guano, affords the subject for several of these pictures. It is a pity these photographs are not better; and it would be better for the people, if not for the publishers, if these pictures could be bought separate from the volume. The publishers are Philp (not Philip) & Solomons, of Washington. D. C. The agents in New York are Baragwanath & Van Wisker, of 200 Broadway.

-Of the interior decoration of the best houses in our great cities, which wealthy men have built for their own use, the mantels of dining-rooms, drawing-rooms, and libraries are important features. The old-fashioned box, made up of thin marble boards, has been superseded by solid constructions of carved wood or elaborately veneered pieces of cabinet work, or, in a few cases, by actual carved marble, not in thin slabs, but in solid masonry. A very splendid chimney-piece in a bank on Broadway is composed entirely of cut-stone of the same sort as that of which the exterior of the building is made, and the shelf it carries is of Lisbon marble. This would be too huge and bulky for most dwelling houses, and means are used in these to make the mantels rich and costly and unusual in appearance, while remaining delicate in their parts. Not long since a splendid one was to be seen, before it was packed to be sent away, composed entirely of wood, but comprising eleven varieties of wood, all showing their natural colors and natural grain. A costly mantel-piece in New York is composed, indeed, of walnut, but is are inlaid in its front. But all these wonderful things are but the triumphs of to-day; to-morrow's successes will surpass them in beauty and in artistic merit, if not in costliness. We chronicle, for those who seek some new thing, some chimney-pieces we hear of through private letters or European journals. First, an English gentleman (and we understand that he is but one of many) has returned to the Dutch tiles of his grandfather's boyhood-Dutch "Scripture" tiles in blue and white, tiles with Bible scenes represented on them, tiles such as those from which Watts learned his Bible history. Probably the outer face only of the fire-place is finished with these. The and sides of the fire-place, and for the hearth, so often that this plan of fire

place is no longer novel. Second, a Prussian gentleman has put into a villa he has built near Potsdam a chimney-piece (the idea of which must have been taken from a well-known saloon in the palace of Sans Souci) "entirely of malachite." Of course malachite veneering is meant : the malachite vases and tables which have been favorite presents from czars to brother potentates, and which are to be seen in almost every royal gallery in Europe, are all veneered. Third, two chimney-pieces have been exhibited in the Paris exhibition of the arts applied to industry, one wholly of bronze, the other of bronze and marble, both, it seems, of oriental design, the former including careful castings made from models brought from Egypt. (This work was probably done with greater care and more knowledge than Sir Walter Scott's cast in iron of a stone piscina in Melrose Abbey, which seemed to him a suitable thing for a fire-place.) One exhibitor was guilty of an Hibernicism at the opening of the exhibition, when being taken unprepared, he put up the following announcement: "These chimney pieces are ornamented with bronzes. The bronzes will be affixed next Sunday."

MUSIC.

MUSIC OF THE WEEK.

MR. MARETZEK's practice of repeating a number of old operas once. while he is preparing the new ones, has the advantage of allowing us to refresh our memories and to renew our old judgments. We can reconsider them and affirm or revise them as time and experience have taught us. So, after hearing a great quantity of Verdi and a very little of Bellini, Gounod, Flotow, and Petrella, we were given a morsel of Donizetti. On Tuesday "Lucrezia Borgia" was given, and on Wednesday "Lucia di Lammermoor." Donizetti stands as a composer half-way between Rossini and Verdi. He puts less recitative and more well-marked airs into his operas than Rossini, and is also inferior to him in the orchestration. His choruses are less grand and effective, and those in both "Lucrezia" and "Lucia" are very like anything that Verdi himself would have written, in their unisons and general lack of character and coloring. He is superior to Verdi in having purer and more delicate melodies and less coarseness of thought and execution. These two operas may be regarded as the best examples of the best period of their author's works, "La Favorita" and "La Figlia del Reggimento" being the only other two that approach them in excellence. His early operas, which, by the pressure of narrow means, he produced at the rate of two and three a year, have already, with one or two exceptions, passed into oblivion, and those written subsequently to this, though sometimes played, are neither popular nor have much intrinsic excellence. "Don Sebastiano," the best of them, never succeeded. "Lucia" was produced at Naples in 1835, and contains the best finale—the sextett of the second act—in any of his voluminous writings, sixty-three operas in all, and is replete with beautiful and touching airs, all of which are perfectly familiar to every one. "Lucrezia" was written for Milan in the previous year, and was reproduced at Paris in 1840. The story was taken from Victor Hugo's drama of "Lucrèce Borgia," and, as soon as the opera was brought out. Hugo, feeling his rights as an author infringed upon, commenced a suit, which was decided in his favor, and the opera was withdrawn from the stage. The Italians were transformed into Turks, and the work was successfully played under the name of La Rinegata." In the provinces it was also called "Nizza di Grenada." It is finer, as a whole, than "Lucia," both musically and dramatically. The most striking scene in the opera, between Gennaro and Lucrezia in the first act, is, however, badly managed, and the interest either lost or obscured. The act should have ended before all the company of friends rushed upon the stage. Miss Phillips sang the part of Orsini with great spirit, and rendered the Brindisi better than it has been given to the American public in very many years. Mrs. Zucchi's voice sounded weak and thin after hearing the beautiful singing of Miss Parepa, but we cannot too loudly applaud her acting. Her thorough conscientiousness and earnestness can be seen from many little things, for instance, the way in which she clutched and clasped decorated with little disks and tablets of rare and valuable marble which to her heart the extended hand of Gennaro in the scene where she saves him from death from the poison he had just drunk. Miss Ortolani quite surprised us in Lucia by the great improvement in her voice and manner. Her acting was not bad, and her singing was sympathetic and correct. She will never make a great singer, but will be always useful in parts which require a good voice and good acting, but which are not considered leading

The concert season has fairly begun. The Arion Society commenced with their excellent vocal and instrumental concert, at which they presented several novelties, among others a fine chorus by Liszt. Mr. Bateman joined mosaic and encaustic tiles of Minton and Maw have been used for the back his company to the opera troupe, and on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week we were favored with concert as well as opera. On the first evening,

the orchestra, under the admirable guidance of Mr. Theodore Thomas, played the overture to "William Tell" as well as it can be played here. The interest of the evening centered in Miss Parepa, who sang "Ernani involami" with remarkable power and brilliancy, without exaggeration, but purely and earnestly, and with careful finish. She made a very vivid impression on the audience, and inspired every one with the resolve to hear her as often as possible. Her voice is rich and full, and her execution is very easy. She slips from her low to her high notes and back without any perceptible effort. and her voice seems liquid as purest air. In the "Shadow Song" she showed that she was suffering with a cold, which prevented her from singing as easily and fluently as the piece requires. For "Il Bacio" she was obliged to substitute a simple ballad, "Five o'clock in the Morning," which she rendered very sweetly and pleasingly. Her English pronunciation and accent are quite perfect. It was a great cause of regret that her cold so gained on her that she could not sing the second evening, for Miss Kellogg by no means filled her place. Mr. Dannreuther is a good pianist, with a clear, sympathetic touch. His playing of Beethoven's concerto showed that he had good feeling for musical sentiment, and his execution of Liszt's "Rigoletto Fantasia" displayed his powers as a performer. Mr. Carl Rosa is an agreeable violinist. He is still young, and bids fair to become an artist. He showed, when he played so simply and so exquisitely "Auld Robin Gray," that he had qualities which only needed developing to put him high in the ranks of the meritorious. Mr. Levy comes here with a great English reputation, which he bids fair to keep and increase. The cornet a-piston is a very difficult but a very beautiful instrument. In Mr. Levy's hands it almost changed its character, and from a brass horn became a silver flute. Some of his notes had a beautiful softness and delicacy, and only occasionally was there any blare of brassy sound. His execution is quite as good as that of Koenig. The "Whirlwind Polka," being very light and graceful, is well suited to showing the capacities of the instrument as regards softness and sweetness. The "Carnival of Venice" is more difficult, and fuller of technical points of skill. It was well executed, but was not so beautiful as the preceding piece.

MUSICAL TALK.

It is rather remarkable to what an extent Gounod's "Faust" is being played in Germany. Nearly every opera-house has it on its list as one of those works to be frequently represented. It was the same last winter; and this is in the face of much adverse criticism at first, when critics all declared that the drama was spoiled, and that the music had no character. One celebrated German musician said, "No, Germany will never endure such a sacrilege as Goethe's drama set by that Frenchman." The sacrilege, however, is not only endured but very much applauded. A French critic of German thought and tendencies tries to account for its success by saying that it was a necessity to the Germans to hear some work on that subject, and that Spohr's opera had held the stage for so long there, that it necessarily gave place to the newer and fresher work. But whatever the German critics say, actuated by their narrow feeling of nationality, the applause of the music-loving and music-knowing people of Germany have reversed their verdict. This is not the only French opera that they like. Many a work which has not been heard for years in France is repeated often every winter in Germany, such as Méhul's "Joseph" and Cherubini's "Deux Journées."

—The Abbé Liszt has recently appeared once more in public as a musician. It was at Pesth, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth jubilee of the Conservatory of Music of Pesth. The music performed was principally by Hungarian composers. Among other things there was the oratorio of "Saint Elizabeth," which Liszt had composed expressly for the anniversary. Since his taking holy orders he plays and composes nothing but sacred music. The subject is taken from the life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, whose story has been told us by Kingsley, and the poem is written by O. Roquette. The work is in two parts, each containing three scenes, three detached pictures from the life of the saint. Each scene is characterized by a single theme, well worked up with all that richness of harmony and instrumentation of which Liszt is the greatest living master. It is said that Liszt is now composing another oratorio called "Saint Stephen," which is destined to be performed at the cononation of the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary, if that event ever takes place.

—Mr. Mellon, whose series of promenade concerts have lately been so popular in London, introduced, after the manner of Jullien, the feature of devoting special nights to the illustration of the great composers. Thus, he had a Spohr night, a Mozart night, and even a Gounod night. Historical concerts are a prominent feature in foreign musical performances. They are given every winter in Paris and London. Why cannot we have something of the kind here? The Philharmonic Society promises us a series of concerts, but they are confined to well-known composers and, with few excep-

tions, to well-known works. They teach us nothing of what has been done in the far past, and little of what is being done at present. This may be one reason why we are all so ignorant here of the history of music. A great composer can be only truly appreciated after hearing what his predecessors and contemporaries tried to do and failed. Will not Mr. Thomas revise his programmes, or give some extra concerts of an historical character?

Science.

In May last an ancient mound was opened on the land of Mr. G. A. Wilson, near the town of Newark, Licking County, Ohio, by a party of four citizens, and among such relics as are often found in many of our Western tumuli (human bones, implements of stone, etc.) a small stone was observed. nearly of the size and form of a hen's egg, covered with the indurated earth which had been dug away from above and around it. It was carved in the shape of an old man's head, and on the forehead were engraved five Hebrew letters, reading from right to left, jod (or vau), thof, nun, beth (or phi), lamed. A short horizontal line was between the first and second letters, and another between the second and third. After cleaning the stone, the Masoretic point tzere was discovered under the fourth letter. With most commendable zeal, measures were immediately taken to authenticate the facts and to communicate them to persons who would do them justice. Mr. J. N. Wilson and the Rev. Mr. Bowen wrote to the Rev. J. W. McCarty of Cincinnati (the learned first translator of the two remarkable Hebrew inscriptions discovered in 1860). Those gentlemen, in co-operation with Messrs. Dennis and Dr. M. C. Burkheart, and Gen. J. Dille, have sent to the American Ethnological Society in New York much interesting information concerning that stone, and another of a different form, which was found by Mr. Cooper in the same place a few days after. The letters, drawing, and photographs sent by them will doubtless be examined and reported on in due time. The stone last discovered appears to be a whitish limestone, is triangular about three by three and a half inches, and one inch thick. It is carved in the form of an animal, with its feet resting on the backs of two elongated human heads. On one of the foreheads is inscribed the Hebrew letter shin; on the other, six letters; and on the side of the animal, four. The stones are such as are common in that region, and corroded by time. These new discoveries must give great additional interest to the contents of our Western mounds; and it is to be hoped that great care will be used in examining even the smallest objects taken from them.

—Mr. James Wilkenson, of Chelsea, England, burnt a quarter of a pound of phosphorus and nitrate of potash (cost only 4d.) in a garden at night, which made a strong light, seen two miles, and lasting six minutes, bringing out the fire engines. A photograph of the scene illuminated was taken, "equalling any picture taken on a bright day."

—The fumes from the extensive copper works at Swansea destroy vegetation for miles around, so that the smelters have to pay enormous sums in damages. Many plans have been projected to counteract the evil; and Messrs. Vivian & Son, smelters, have adopted the method of a German chemist, which they publicly declare is likely to succeed, and enable them to make 1,000 tons a week of sulphuric acid from the copper smoke, now worse than wasted.

—A new tanning process has been invented in France, by M. Picard, which is said by Le Noveliste to be cheaper and more expeditious than the old. By a mechanical process in the place of bark, hides are tanned into leather in twelve hours. Turpentine dissolves fat and preserves leather. The material used is 50 per cent. cheaper than bark; the process less laborious, oak forests will be benefited by leaving the bark on the trees and avoiding the treading down of young saplings, while the waste lands will be planted with fir trees, to produce turpentine. Manufacturers prefer the leather thus made.

—It is a mystery why certain savage and barbarous tribes, in different parts of the world, have different sets of numerals for several different classes of objects, as one set for men and animals; another for roundish objects, as cocoa-nuts, pebbles, etc.; a third for long things, like sticks, etc., etc. The Uniapa islanders are known to have five or six: some of the Micronesians, twelve or fifteen; and an old grammar of the Catchiquel language of Guatemala gives about forty.

—It has been proposed in England to hold a meeting of archeologists on Salisbury Plain, at Stonehenge, to make an excavation under the altar-stone. and raise the fallen Trilithon; but the owner of the ground, Sir Edward Antrobus, has refused to permit it.

-A reward was offered of £150 to £300 by Dr. Petermann, the German geographer, to any German mariner who would explore the currents of the sea between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla this year; and a polar expedition started that way, expecting to be facilitated by the influence of the Gulf Stream, and the expenses paid by the fossil ivory to be brought back. The steamer broke her machinery and returned.

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FIRST CLASS FIRE INSURANCE ON THE PARTICIPATION PLAN.

MARKET FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY,

37 WALL STREET, CORNER OF JAUNCEY COURT.

CONDITION OF THE COMPANY.

ABSTRACT OF	TH	Œ	ANNUA	L	REP	ORT	OF	DEC.	31,	1864			
TOTAL ASSETS	3							- 8	4114	729 1	8		
VizBonds and Mortgages	40	-								- 81	134,672	00	
Temporary Loans .			-	-							92,630	00	
Real Estate											10,000	00	
100 Shares Mer. Ex. Bar	nk										5,000	00	
Government Sec., value			-							- 1	144,514	00	
Cash on hand			4								18,042	34	
Interest due		-0									3.085	58	
Premiums due -				-							6,785	26	
PRESENT LIABILITIES					-						- \$15		9
NET SURPLUS												733	
This Company will coutin	ue.	H.B	heretofo	re.	to in	sure	resp	ectab	le p				

DISASTER BY FIRE At fair and remunerating rates; extending, according to the terms on its Policies, the

At fair and remunerating rates, exceeding the advantage of the PARTICIPATION PLAN OF THE COMPANY, pursued by it for several years past, with such great success and popularity, and profit to its customers: whereby

(75) SEVENTY-FIVE PER CENT. (75) of the Profits, instead of being withdrawn from the Company in Dividends to Stockholders, is invested as a "SCRIP FUND," and held for greater protection of its Policy-holders; and Scrip, bearing interest, is issued to Customers therefor; thus, IN THIS COMPANY, those who furnish the business, AND PAY THE PREMIUMS, derive the largest share of advantages; and when the accumulations of the SCRIP FUND shall exceed.

EXCECT EVEN BY A SUPPLY STATES AND DOLLARS, the excess will be applied to PAY OFF the Scrip IN CASH in the order of its issue.

**The liberal and prompt adjustment of Claims for Loss, WHEN FAIR AND SQUARE, is a specialty with this Company.

NOTE.—This Company does not insure on the hazards of RIVER, LAKE, or INLAND NAVIGATION; confining itself strictly to a legitimate FIRE INSURANCE BUSINESS.

IN INTERPRETARE SUPPLY SU

H. P. FREEMAN, Secretary.

THE

MORRIS FIRE AND INLAND INSURANCE COMPANY.

COLUMBIAN BUILDING, 1 NASSAU STREET.

JUNE 1, 1865.

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL, \$5,000,000.

CASH CAPITAL, PAID IN, AND SURPLUS, \$885,040 57.

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CAPITAL - - - \$2,000,000. | SURPLUS - - - \$1,200,000.

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OFFICE, 12 WALL STREET.

\$1,000,000 CASH CAPITAL INCREASED TO SURPLUS, JAN. 1, 1865, 275,253

Losses equitably adjusted and promptly paid.

CHARTERED 1850a

Cash Dividends paid in fourteen years, 248 per cent.

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